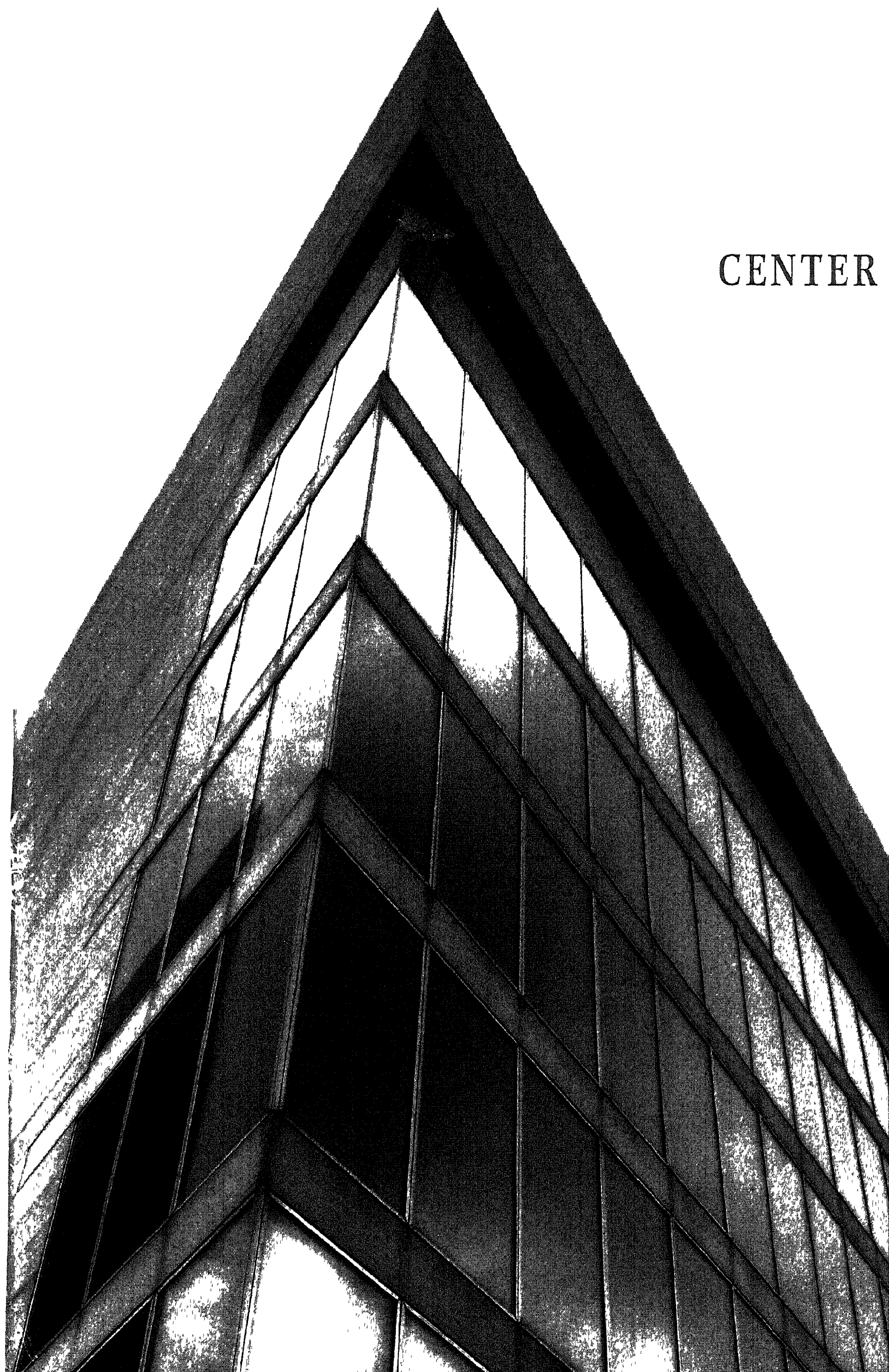
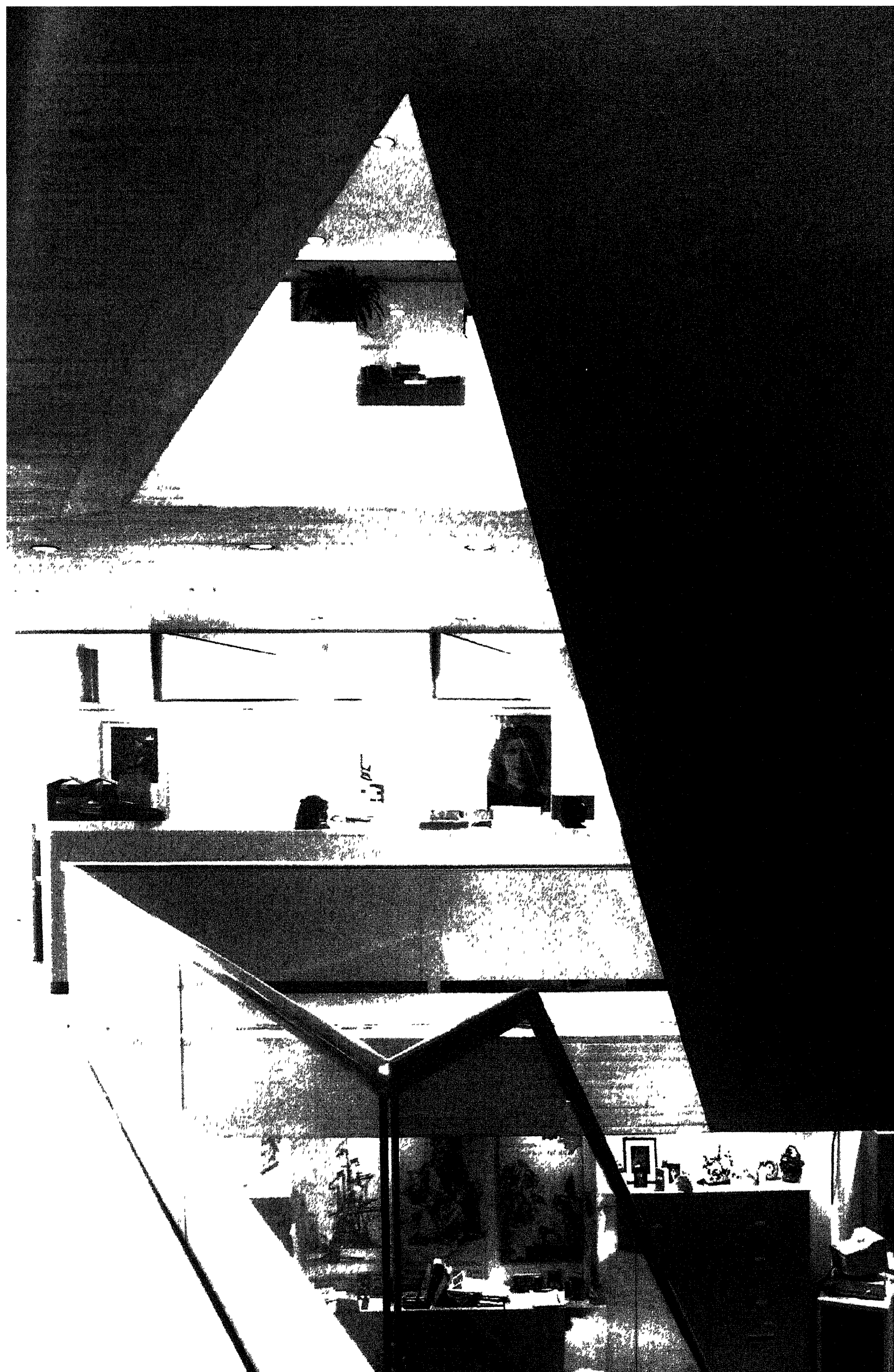

CENTER





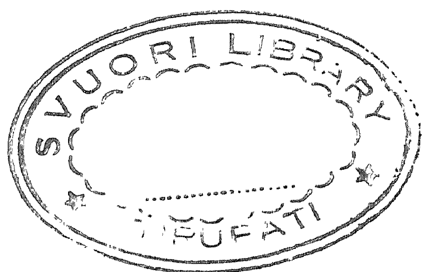
National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL A

CENTER 16

Record of Activities and Research Reports

June 1995–May 1996



Washington 1996

National Gallery of Art
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS
Washington, D.C. 20565
Telephone: (202) 842–6480
Facsimile: (202) 842–6733
E-mail: center@nga.gov
World Wide Web: http://www.capcon.net/casva

This publication was produced by the Editors Office, National Gallery of Art, Washington

Designed by Susan Lehmann
Printed by Schneidereith & Sons, Baltimore, Maryland

Photographic credits
Cover, pages 1, 6, 161: James Pipkin
Pages 13, 150, 152, 155, 157, 159: Dennis Brack/Black Star
Frontispiece: John Sloan, *The Picture Buyer*, 1911. Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington

Contents



Preface

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, a research institute which fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art, artifacts, architecture, and urbanism, from prehistoric times to the present, was founded in 1979 as part of the National Gallery of Art. The Center encourages study of the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences.

The resident community of scholars consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, the Andrew W. Mellon Professor, and the Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, in addition to approximately eighteen fellows, including Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, Associates, Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellows, and Predoctoral Fellows. The activities of the Center for Advanced Study, which include the programs of fellowships, research, meetings, and publication, are privately funded.

Report on the Academic Year June 1995–May 1996

Board of Advisors

Keith Christiansen
Metropolitan Museum of Art

William I. Homer
University of Delaware

Rosalind Krauss
Columbia University

James Marrow
Princeton University

Marianna Shreve Simpson
Walters Art Gallery

Andrew Stewart
University of California, Berkeley

Charles W. Talbot
Trinity University, San Antonio

Staff

Henry A. Millon, Dean
Therese O'Malley, Associate Dean
Joanne Pillsbury, Assistant Dean

Francesca Consagra, Research Assistant to the Dean

Sabine Eiche, Senior Research Associate (Architectural Drawings Project)

Anne Helmreich, Research Assistant to the Associate Dean

Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, Project Associate (Keywords in American Landscape Design)

Pauline Maguire, Research Assistant to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon Professors

Nicholas Paul, Intern (Keywords in American Landscape Design)

Mary Pye, Research Assistant to the Assistant Dean

Deborah A. Gómez, Assistant to the Fellowship Program

Elizabeth Kielpinski, Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings

Abby Krain, Secretary to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon Professors

Stephanie Kristich, Secretary to the Research Program

Helen Tangires, Staff Assistant

Curatorial Liaison

Edgar Peters Bowron, Senior Curator of Paintings

Report of the Dean
June 1995–May 1996

The Center, in its sixteenth year, sponsored study of the visual arts in each of its four major program areas: fellowships, research, publications, and scholarly meetings.

The resident community of scholars at the Center for Advanced Study in 1995–1996 included individuals working on topics ranging from medieval Chinese pagodas to postwar residential architecture in the United States. Scholars focused on such issues as craft and philosophical aesthetics in antiquity, the "self-image" of the Roman villa, abstraction in the textiles of ancient Tiwanaku, Parisian Flamboyant in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and album production under the Timurid and Safavid dynasties. Members of the Center included scholars from Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, France, Italy, The Netherlands, Russia, Switzerland, and the United States. The scholars from Latin America were funded by two programs supported by the Inter-American Development Bank with the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Association of Research Institutes in Art History (ARIAH). ARIAH's fellowship program for Latin American scholars, now in its second year, is administered by the Associate Dean, who serves as chair of the association.

Three long-term research projects, under the direction of the deans, are currently underway at the Center. The first, the development of the National Gallery's photographic archives in the area

of pre-1800 Italian architectural drawings, has resulted in approximately 25,000 images gathered from European collections. A second project, "Keywords in American Landscape Design," has entered a new phase as the corpus of 1,500 images is being scanned onto CD-ROMS in order to become available through the National Gallery's photographic archives. A multivolume reference work of this project is in preparation for publication. A third project, a guide to documentary sources for the art history and archaeology of the Andes, was initiated this past year.

In conjunction with the Johannes Vermeer exhibition at the National Gallery, the Center for Advanced Study organized a symposium on 30 November–1 December 1995 devoted to recent research and emerging issues in scholarship on the Dutch painter. The gathering was jointly sponsored with the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, the Center for Renaissance and Baroque Studies, and the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Maryland. A second, related symposium on Vermeer was held at the Mauritshuis in May 1996. The Center also sponsored a symposium, "The Art of the Ancient Spectacle," in May. This symposium focused on various aspects of theater and ritual, public and private, in both Greece and Rome. The papers from these gatherings will be published by the National Gallery in the symposium series of Studies in the History of Art.

A number of informal meetings and lectures were organized at the Center. The seminar topics included environmental planning, the design and management of the environment under authoritarian regimes, and documentary sources on Andean art and archaeology. In addition to the Andrew W. Mellon Lectures and the completion of the lecture series marking the fifteenth anniversary of the Center, an additional lecture was presented on the subject of the sixteenth-century Peruvian manuscript of Guaman Poma. Finally, six *incontri*, on subjects ranging from Fra' Bartolomeo to the creation of a natural history of art, were held.

Several volumes were published this past year, including *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review*, papers from a symposium held at the Center for Advanced Study in 1993. In addition, papers from a curatorial/conservation colloquy sponsored

by the Center in 1992, *Saint-Porchaire Ceramics*, were published in the conservation series of Studies in the History of Art. Also published this year was *Gold, Silver, and Bronze: Metal Sculpture of the Roman Baroque* (Princeton University Press), based on the Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts delivered in 1990 by Jennifer Montagu. A volume commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the Samuel H. Kress Professorship at the National Gallery, *A Generous Vision: Samuel H. Kress Professors, 1965–1995*, was published this year.

Details of this year's programs, in the next section, are followed by research reports of the members of the Center. A full description of the fellowship program, list of publications, and other information may be found in the final part of this volume.

Henry A. Millon
Dean



Members

David R. Coffin, Princeton University (emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1995–1996

Elizabeth Cropper, Johns Hopkins University
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1994–1996

Pierre M. Rosenberg, Musée du Louvre, Paris
Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1996

Senior Fellows

Albert Ammerman, Colgate University; Università degli Studi di Trento
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1995–1996
Reconstructing the Ancient City

Beatriz Colomina, Princeton University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1995–1996
War and Architecture: The Case Study Houses

William J Conklin, Textile Museum, Washington; Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Museo, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1995–1996
A Study of the Textiles of the Ancient Andean Culture of Tiwanaku

Dario Gamboni, Université de Lyon II, Institut Universitaire de France
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1996
The Use of Potential Images in the Graphic Arts and Painting of the Fin de Siècle

Frederick Lamp, Baltimore Museum of Art
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1995–1996
Art of the Baga: A Drama of Cultural Reinvention

Ira Mark, New York City
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1995–1996
Craft and Philosophical Aesthetics in Antiquity: The Case of Vitruvius

Visiting Senior Fellows

Juan B. Albarracin-Jordan, Empresa Consultora en Arqueología, La Paz
Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellow, winter 1996
Material Culture and Interpretations of the Prehispanic Past: The North American Contribution to Bolivian Archaeology (1860–1960)

Oskar Bätschmann, Universität Bern
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1995
The Rise of the Modern Exhibition Artist

Alberto Cipiniuk, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro
Inter-American Development Bank and Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1995
Brazilian and American Art: A Social Approach to Neoclassical Style

Beth Cohen, New York City
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996
Antico's Bronze Busts: Precious Metal and the Invention of Renaissance Antiquities

Thierry De Duve, Paris
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1995
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996
The Notion of Artistic Convention in French Avant-Garde Painting in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

Maurizio Gargano, Università degli Studi di Roma Tre
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1996
Architecture in Rome during the Pontificate of Alexander VI: Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, Donato Bramante, and the Antique

Christian Heck, Université de Strasbourg
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996
The Heavenly Ladder in Western Medieval Art

Julia O. Kagan, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1995
Glyptic Art in Britain

Wouter Kloek, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996
Jan Steen, His Inventions and His Repetitions

Genevra Kornbluth, Youngstown State University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1996
Continuity and Conversion: Uses of Gemstone in Merovingian Gaul

Marie Tanner, New York City
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996
Titus' Conquest of Jerusalem and the Renaissance in Rome

Predoctoral Fellows

Jenny Anger [Brown University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1994–1997
Modernism and the Gendering of Paul Klee

Julien Chapuis [Indiana University]*
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1994–1996
Underdrawing in Paintings of the Stefan Lochner Group

Leah Dickerman [Columbia University]*
David E. Finley Fellow, 1993–1996
Utopian Practice and Revolutionary Complexity, 1917–1936: The Work of Aleksandr Rodchenko

Erica Ehrenberg [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1995–1997
Archaism and Innovation in Neo-Babylonian Artistic Representation: Definition and Chronology

Marian Feldman [Harvard University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1995–1998
The Role of Luxury Goods in the International Relations of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age with Specific Reference to the Site of Ras Shamra-Ugarit

Pamela Fletcher [Columbia University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1995–1996
Alternative Narratives of Modernity: The "Problem Picture," 1890–1914

Samuel Isenstadt [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1995–1997
Little Visual Empire: Private Vistas and the Modern American House

Pamela Lee [Harvard University]
Wyeth Fellow, 1995–1997
Object To Be Destroyed: The Work of Gordon Matta-Clark

Réjean Legault [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1995–1996
L'Appareil de l'Architecture Moderne: New Materials and Architectural Modernity in France (1889–1934)

Abby McGehee [University of California, Berkeley]*
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1993–1996
The Parish Church of Saint Gervais-Saint Protais: Parisian Flamboyant in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Trian Nguyen [University of California, Berkeley]
Ittleson Fellow, 1995–1997
Ninh-phuc Monastery: An Examination of Seventeenth-Century Buddhist Sculpture in Northern Vietnam

Nancy Norwood [University of California, Berkeley]*
Mary Davis Fellow, 1994–1996
Devotional and Liturgical Aspects of Fifteenth-Century Northern European Sculpted Entombment Groups

Irina Oryshkevich [Columbia University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1994–1997
Christian Reclamation: Rediscovery of the Catacombs in Counter-Reformation Rome

David J. Roxburgh [University of Pennsylvania]*
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1994–1996
"Our Works Point to Us": Album-Making, Collecting, and Art (1427–1565) under the Timurids and Safavids

Eugene Yuejin Wang [Harvard University]**
Ittleson Fellow, 1994–1995
Sculptural Optics and Architectural Tropology: The Dragon-Tiger Pagoda and Chinese Medieval Visual Culture

Gennifer Weisenfeld [Princeton University]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1995–1997
Murayama, Mavo, and Modernity: Constructions of the Modern in Taisho Period Avant-Garde Art

---

*in residence 18 September 1995–31 August 1996
**in residence fall 1995

Meetings

Symposia

30 November–1 December 1995

NEW VERMEER STUDIES

Keynote Address (University of Maryland at College Park)
Eddy de Jongh, Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht
On Balance

Morning Session
Moderator: Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., National Gallery of Art

John Michael Montias, Yale University
A New Look at Vermeer's Life and Milieu in the Period 1669–1676

Leonard J. Slatkes, City University of New York, Queens College
Utrecht and Delft: Vermeer and Caravaggism

J. M. Nash, University of Essex
To Find the Mind's Construction in the Face

Gregor J.M. Weber, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden
Vermeer's Use of the Picture within the Picture: A New Approach

Irene Netta, Munich
The Phenomenon of Time in the Art of Vermeer

Afternoon Session
Moderator: Anthony Colantuono, University of Maryland at College Park

Nanette Salomon, City University of New York, College of Staten Island
From Sexuality to Civility: Vermeer's Women

Lisa Vergara, City University of New York, Hunter College
Visual and Thematic Convergence in Vermeer: Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid

Daniel Arasse, Université de Paris, Sorbonne
Vermeer's Private Allegories

Ivan Gaskell, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge
Vermeer and the Limits of Interpretation

13 April 1996

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART, TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL SESSIONS

Cosponsored with the Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Maryland at College Park

Morning Session

Moderator: Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Introduction: Mary D. Garrard
Susan Nalezyty [American University]
Bellini's Feast of the Gods: *A Classical Lesson on Agricultural Fertility*

Introduction: Anthony Cutler
Douglas N. Dow [Pennsylvania State University]
Facility Causes the Greatest Wonder: Speculations on a Convex Mirror

Introduction: Anthony Colantuono
Aneta Georgievska-Shine [University of Maryland at College Park]
"Many Mirrors in Due Order": Vermeer and The Allegory of Faith

Introduction: Roger Stein
Lance Humphries [University of Virginia]
Pilgrimage to Ideal Beauty: British Grand Tour Pellegrini *and Their Perceptions of Classical Statuary*

Introduction: Melvin P. Lader
Ullrich Jentz [George Washington University]
Hermetic Salvation Revealed: Benjamin West's Venus Lamenting the Death of Adonis *(1768)*

Introduction: Elizabeth Johns
Julie Rosenbaum [University of Pennsylvania]
Displaying Civic Culture

Afternoon Session

Moderator: Meredith J. Gill, University of Maryland at College Park

Introduction: Mary D. Sheriff
Elizabeth G. Buck [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]
"In What Kind of Surroundings I Chose to Live My Dreams": The Interior of the Musée Gustave Moreau

Introduction: David Cast
Leslie Topp [Bryn Mawr College]
Josef Hoffmann's Purkersdorf Sanatorium: Modern Architecture and Medical Science in Turn-of-the-Century Vienna

Introduction: Annabel Wharton
Edward A. Shanken [Duke University]
"Le coq, c'est moi!": Brancusi's Pasarea Maiastra: *Nationalistic Self-Portrait?*

Introduction: Barbara McCloskey
Elizabeth Teller [University of Pittsburgh]
Sexuality and Modernity: Christian Schad's Weimar Portraits

Introduction: Michael Fried
Charles Palermo [Johns Hopkins University]
"La Peau de la Peinture": Miró and the Body of Painting

Introduction: Damie Stillman
Tracy J. Myers [University of Delaware]
Modernists at the Gate: The Smith College Dormitory Competition of 1945

10–11 May 1996

THE ART OF THE ANCIENT SPECTACLE

Introduction: Bettina Bergmann, Mount Holyoke College

Spectacle in the Arena and Theater

Morning Session

Moderator: Christine Kondoleon, Worcester Art Museum

J. Richard Green, University of Sydney
Tragedy and the Spectacle of the Mind: Messenger Speeches, Actors, Narrative, and Audience Imagination in Fourth-Century Vase-Painting

Henner von Hesberg, Archäologisches Institut der Universität Köln
The King on Stage

Ann Kuttner, University of Pennsylvania
Making a Spectacle of One's Self: Hellenistic Impersonation Art, East and West

Nicholas Purcell, Saint John's College, University of Oxford
Does Caesar Mime?

Afternoon Session

Moderator: John H. D'Arms, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Katherine E. Welch, Harvard University
Negotiating Roman Spectacle Architecture in the Greek World

Thomas Wiedemann, University of Nottingham
Immortalizing the Gladiator

Richard Lim, Smith College
In the "Temple of Laughter": Spectators and Their Behavior at Late Roman Games

T. P. Wiseman, University of Exeter
Scenarios for the Games of Flora

Spectacle in the Street and Domus

Morning Session

Moderator: Bettina Bergmann, Mount Holyoke College

John H. D'Arms, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Spectacle and Roman Banquets

Christine Kondoleon, Worcester Art Museum
All the Domus *a Stage*

Mario Torelli, Università degli Studi di Perugia
Funera Tusca: *Spectacle, Ritual, and Afterlife Beliefs in Archaic Tarquinian Tomb Painting*

John Bodel, Rutgers University
Death on Display: Looking at Roman Funerals

Afternoon Session

Moderator: Mario Torelli, Università degli Studi di Perugia

Christopher Jones, Harvard University
Processional Colors

Richard Brilliant, Columbia University
From Violence to Virtue: The Roman Triumph on Parade

Barbara Kellum, Smith College
The Spectacle of the Street

Diane Favro, University of California, Los Angeles
The Spectacle of Time: Ritual and the Cityscape of Ancient Rome

Seminars

27 October 1995

ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING

Participants

Richard Arndt, United States Information Agency
Diana Balmori, Balmori and Associates
Kent Barwick, New York State Historical Association
David R. Coffin, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Beatriz Colomina, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
William J Conklin, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Gary Hilderbrand, Harvard University
John Dixon Hunt, University of Pennsylvania
Maritta Koch-Weser, World Bank
Michael Laurie, University of California, Berkeley
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Judith Rice Millon, Washington
Laurie Olin, Olin Partnership
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Benedetta Origo, Villa La Foce
Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Anne Whiston Spirn, University of Pennsylvania
Michael Totten, Center for Renewable Energy and Sustainable Technology

15 December 1995

THE DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT UNDER AUTHORITARIAN REGIMES: 1920–1950

Participants

Stanford Anderson, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Milka T. Bliznakov, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Beatriz Colomina, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Leah Dickerman, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Edward Dimendberg, University of California Press

Richard Etlin, University of Maryland at College Park
Karen Fiss, Washington University
Maria Fuller, University of Louisville
Daniel Gasman, City University of New York
Isabelle Gournay, University of Maryland at College Park
Anne Helmreich, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Paul Jaskot, DePaul University
William L. MacDonald, Smith College (emeritus)
Mina Marefat, Smithsonian Institution
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Alessandra Ponte, Princeton University
Carol Rusche, Bentel and Bentel Architects
Yehuda Safran, Rhode Island School of Design
Thomas Schumacher, University of Maryland at College Park
Anatole Senkevitch, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Stanley Tambiah, Dumbarton Oaks
Georges Teyssot, Princeton University
Danilo Udovicki, University of Texas at Austin
David Underwood, Rutgers University
Wilcomb Washburn, Smithsonian Institution
Mark Wigley, Princeton University
Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, Dumbarton Oaks

Observers

Joseph Disponzio, Dumbarton Oaks
Elizabeth Herman, Dumbarton Oaks
Barbara Lynn-Davis, Dumbarton Oaks
Mary Pye, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Rebecca Williamson, Dumbarton Oaks

9 February 1996

TEXTS WITHOUT IMAGES: WORKING WITH DOCUMENTARY SOURCES ON ANDEAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Participants

Juan Albarracin-Jordan, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Catherine Allen, George Washington University
Monica Barnes, Cornell University
Elizabeth Benson, Institute of Andean Studies

Susan Bergh, Dumbarton Oaks
Elizabeth Boone, Tulane University
Tamara Bray, Wayne State University
William J Conklin, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Anita Cook, Catholic University
Thomas B.F. Cummins, University of Chicago
Carolyn Dean, University of California, Santa Cruz
Penny Dransart, Saint David's University College, Lampeter
Valerie Fraser, University of Essex
Paul Goldstein, Dartmouth College
Regina Harrison, University of Maryland at College Park
Richard Kagan, Johns Hopkins University
Sabine MacCormack, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Ramiro Matos, National Museum of the American Indian
Colin McEwan, British Museum
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
John Murra, Cornell University
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Juan Ossio, Pontifícia Universidad Católica del Perú
Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Mary Pye, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Jeffrey Quilter, Dumbarton Oaks
Joanne Rappaport, University of Maryland at College Park
Irene Silverblatt, Duke University
Rebecca Stone-Miller, Emory University
Marie Timberlake, University of California, Los Angeles
R. Tom Zuidema, University of Illinois

Observers

Barbara Conklin, American Museum of Natural History
Emily Kaplan, National Museum of the American Indian

Colloquia CXXXI–CXXXVIII

26 October 1995
David R. Coffin, Samuel H. Kress Professor
The "Self-Image" of the Roman Villa during the Renaissance

9 November 1995
Elizabeth Cropper, Andrew W. Mellon Professor
Pontormo's Halberdier: *A Question of Identity*

7 December 1995
Ira Mark, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow
On the Place of Philosophy in Ancient Craft: The Case of Vitruvius

13 February 1996
Frederick Lamp, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
The Great Baga Nimba and the Aesthetic of the Unattainable

29 February 1996
William J Conklin, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Tiwanakography: Extracting Cultural Information from the Icons of the Tiwanaku Textiles

11 April 1996
Beatriz Colomina, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Built in the USA: The Postwar Exhibition House

23 April 1996
Albert Ammerman, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Reconstructing the Ancient City

2 May 1996
Dario Gamboni, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Potential Images: On the Use of Visual Ambiguity in the Graphic Arts and Painting around 1900

Shoptalks

30 November 1995
Abby McGehee, Paul Mellon Fellow
The Late Gothic Parish Churches of Paris and the Construction of Communal Identity

14 December 1995
Eugene Yuejin Wang, Ittleson Fellow
For Your Eyes Only: Chinese Relic Pagoda and Its Implied Mode of Viewing

25 January 1996
David J. Roxburgh, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow
"What Lies Between the Two Boards?": An Album Made for Bahrām Mīrzā in 951/1544–1545

7 March 1996
Leah Dickerman, David E. Finley Fellow
Lenin in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction

28 March 1996
Nancy Norwood, Mary Davis Fellow
Visualization, Replication, Facsimile: The Monumental Entombment Group in Fifteenth-Century Nuremberg

9 May 1996
Julien Chapuis, Samuel H. Kress Fellow
Recovering the Painter's Aesthetic Stance: A Discussion of Stefan Lochner's Presentation in the Temple

Fifteenth Anniversary Lecture Series

19 October 1995
Francis Haskell, University of Oxford
Art and History: The Legacy of Johan Huizinga

15 November 1995
Artur Rosenauer, Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Universität Wien
The Violante *of the Kunsthistorisches Museum: Reflections on Early Titian*

6 December 1995
Elisabeth Kieven, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen
"On Fantasy"—Changing Aspects of Perception in Eighteenth-Century Art

Lecture

8 February 1996
Thomas B.F. Cummins, University of Chicago
Guaman Poma: The Formation of a Pictorial Peruvian Colonial Manuscript

Incontri

25 July 1995
David Thomson, University of East Anglia
Du Cerceau: The Industry of Renaissance Architectural Drawings

24 October 1995
Serena Padovani, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fra' Bartolomeo Revisited

7 November 1995
Steven A. Mansbach, American Academy in Berlin
A Methodological Introduction to the Classic Avant-Garde of Eastern Europe

26 March 1996
Mark Laird, Toronto
"A Perfect Slope of Beautiful Flowers": The Shrubbery and Flower Beds in the English Landscape Garden

27 March 1996
John B. Onians, University of East Anglia
Toward a Natural History of Art

Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1996

Pierre M. Rosenberg, Musée du Louvre, Paris
From Drawing to Painting: Poussin, Watteau, Fragonard, David, Ingres

14 April	*Five Exceptional Artists*
21 April	*Fame, Technique, and Theme*
28 April	*Practice and Invention*
5 May	*Issues of Attribution and Chronology*
12 May	*Drawing and Dealing*
19 May	*Drawing and Purpose*

Lecture Abstracts

Francis Haskell, University of Oxford
Art and History: The Legacy of Johan Huizinga

The central concern of this lecture is the paradox that whereas Huizinga's *Waning of the Middle Ages* is generally acknowledged to be a masterpiece of cultural history which still enjoys a wide international readership, its impact on subsequent history (and particularly art history) is barely ever mentioned—and then usually for purposes of refutation. The book probably did nonetheless play an important role in shaping the most substantial and influential work on fifteenth-century Flemish art to be published during the last half-century, Erwin Panofsky's *Early Netherlandish Paintings*, which has (in turn) been subject to damaging criticism.

The main emphasis of the lecture is on Huizinga as a historian of culture. In this connection, two points in particular are emphasized: in the first place, his was the first major work of the kind that was based essentially on visual rather than written sources; and in the second place, he himself was acutely aware of the methodological dangers involved in such an approach and provides the reader with constant routes for escaping from them. In these ways his book differs profoundly from the "closed" systems of Jacob Burckhardt and other nineteenth-century historians to whom he is so profoundly indebted.

Artur Rosenauer, Institut für Kunstgeschichte,
Universität Wien
The Violante *of the Kunsthistorisches Museum: Reflections on Early Titian*

The so-called *Violante* is mentioned for the first time in the early seventeenth century in the collection of Bartolomeo della Nave in Venice. Via the collections of the Duke of Hamilton and the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, the Habsburg governor in Brussels, the picture finally entered the Viennese collection.

As a representation of a handsome, rather freely dressed young lady, the *Violante* belongs to a genre of pictures that was created in Venice in the early sixteenth century and enjoyed great popularity; Giorgione's *Laura* seems to have been the earliest example. Recent decades have witnessed many attempts to explore this genre. The range of interpretations stretches from courtesans to *promesse spose*.

In the della Nave collection the *Violante* was listed as a work by Titian. When the picture was acquired by Leopold Wilhelm, the attribution was changed to Palma Vecchio. This attribution remained unchallenged for almost three hundred years. In 1927 Roberto Longhi was the first to reattribute the *Violante* to Titian. Since that time the discussion of an attribution to Palma or to Titian has not been settled.

Those who favor an attribution to Titian usually date the *Violante* around 1515. In reality the *Violante* seems to have been painted earlier, actually before the frescoes in the Scuola del Santo in Padua from 1511. The type of the *Violante* shows parallels to portraits by Raphael painted about 1506/1508. On the other hand, a Venetian tradition can be established in which Giorgione, influenced by Leonardo, is of cardinal importance.

The *Violante* is not just another example of a *bellissima donna*. Painted only a few years after Giorgione's *Laura*, it is the first representation of a type that was taken up with great success by Palma Vecchio.

Elisabeth Kieven, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen
"On Fantasy"—Changing Aspects of Perception in Eighteenth-Century Art

In 1664, when Roman art of the high baroque had reached its peak, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, secretary of the Roman Academy of Saint Luke, launched the first attack against this style, which he condemned as "licentious, unreasonable, unintelligent, unnatural." He blamed deformation and corruption visible in the works of "modern" artists on a desire for novelty. His violent attack culminated in an open verdict of the works of famed baroque architect Francesco Borromini. It set the tone for a debate about the terms "nature" and "fantasy" that would reverberate for a century through Europe. In 1713 Lord Shaftesbury demanded that the arts should be "founded in truth and nature and independent of fancy" in order to recreate harmony and the original natural state. "Fancy"—synonymous with the baroque—was not only unnatural but also unreasonable. Beauty and perfection lay for Shaftesbury in objective rules; the required "right models of perfection" were offered by the antique, specifically Greek art.

The changing perception of Borromini's architecture in Europe is a phenomenon that will be discussed in some detail followed by a discussion of Giovanni Battista Piranesi's contribution. Piranesi was deeply influenced by the librarian and scholar Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, who published his *Dialoghi sopra le tre arti del disegno* anonymously in 1754. Bottari lamented the decline of contemporary Roman art, but held academic training partly responsible. He demanded imitation of the great masters of the past—from antiquity to modern times—yet despised copying them. Bottari did not advocate a strict canon to be followed, insisting on creativity. Therefore he appreciated the extraordinary quality of Gianlorenzo Bernini's and Borromini's work, yet he did not want artists of his own time to copy them. His hero was Michelangelo, who applied no rules but trusted his *giudizo dell'occhio*; and Bottari regarded Piranesi, from the moment of his appearance in Rome, as among the best.

While Bottari's *Dialoghi* are contradictory, he did point out a

problem that became apparent by the end of the eighteenth century. Could imagination and fantasy be excluded from artistic production? Are strict rules applicable to the arts? Piranesi reacted violently against the restriction of fantasy. His fantastic images were accepted as long as he produced them on paper. Two works in particular, his project for Santa Maria del Priorato and the unexecuted remodeling of San Giovanni in Laterano, reflect a deep controversy between the rational debate of the Enlightenment on one side and the demand for imagination and fantasy on the other, which exploded in Piranesi's *Parere sul l'architettura*. Strikingly modern as his quest for the individual right to fantasy sounds, his dramatic outburst points to the deepest problem of neoclassical art: how to reconcile "nature" and "fantasy," rationality and emotion.

Thomas B.F. Cummins, University of Chicago
Guaman Poma: The Formation of a Pictorial Peruvian Colonial Manuscript

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615) is the only known colonial manuscript written and extensively illustrated by an Andean. Since earlier in this century, when its existence in the Danish Royal Library was made known to the general public, the manuscript has been a fundamental visual and textual source for Andean Prehispanic and colonial historical studies.

Surprisingly, the drawings are not well understood within a historical framework of sources that were specifically known to, or produced by, Guaman Poma. The first part of the manuscript, the *Nueva corónica*, a pictorial history of the Inkas, was basically formed by 1590 in connection with a manuscript by a Spanish-born monk, Martín de Murúa. The original version of this manuscript has not come to light; the only version available for public study is the *Historia general*, a 1613 reworking by Murúa himself, which includes a few of Guaman Poma's drawings taken from the earlier manuscript. The manuscript is now in the J. Paul Getty Museum collections. Between 1590 and 1600, Guaman Poma was involved in a personal lawsuit over hereditary rights to land. We know from a copy of a surviving legal document that Guaman Poma used pictorial drawing as legal evidence in his case. Sometime after 1600 he began to form the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* using these two earlier works but also calling on new "modern" European pictorial sources to complete the colonial section of *Buen gobierno* and giving it resonance for its intended audience, the king of Spain.

Guaman Poma's pictorial realism, based on imitation, is not natural to him. His deployment of it in various guises calls into account the arbitrariness of the Spanish system of representation, suggesting that both writing and drawing are in fact the same alienating act for an Andean.

Incontro Abstracts

David Thomson, University of East Anglia
Du Cerceau: The Industry of Renaissance Architectural Drawings

In 1888 Baron Henri de Geymüller published the first and only monograph on Jacques Androuet du Cerceau. There are many spurious attributions in his book, but the authentic du Cerceau architectural and decorative drawings Geymüller knew of added up to a considerable oeuvre. These now are divided between the Réserve of the Cabinet des Estampes in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Musée Condé at Chantilly, a total of 236 sheets representing work from du Cerceau's early and middle years. From the outset he drew on costly vellum.

Since 1888, small collections have surfaced, the majority being fantastical reconstructions of antique monuments based on coins, quattrocento Italian sketchbooks, and his own imagination. Such volumes have come to light in Dresden, Munich, Parma, Madrid, and Montreal. All of these, except the eighty-seven drawings in Montreal, have a provenance to the seventeenth century at the latest, and frequently can be traced back to du Cerceau's lifetime.

Unknown until the 1920s and the 1950s respectively are two spectacular collections of ninety-six drawings in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and fifty specially selected drawings in the Vatican Library, a diplomatic gift. These, along with twelve in a British private collection, are the quality core of his late work, datable to the late 1560s and 1570s. Much less than five percent of this material has been reproduced in postwar literature.

Du Cerceau's long period of activity, spanning over forty-five years, saw his gifts as a draftsman employed in diverse architectural and decorative spheres. Among his numerous creative ventures are issues of quattrocento architectural fantasy, Renaissance numismatics, culture and commerce of manuscripts, and *Bâtiments à plaisir*. Du Cerceau represents an unparalleled source and resource, in quality and quantity, for the study of northern Renaissance architecture and decorative arts.

Serena Padovani, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence
Fra' Bartolomeo Revisited

Fra' Bartolomeo, the Dominican painter of the convent of San Marco in Florence, and his partner and lifelong friend Mariotto Albertinelli, occupy a distinct position in art-historical literature. We have Giorgio Vasari's detailed account as well as solid scholarly monographs on the artists from the second half of the last century through the beginning of the twentieth century. The fundamental role of both, however, and especially of Fra' Bartolomeo, in the creation of the new pictorial language of the high Renaissance in Tuscany, is not as widely known as it should be and requires further research.

Since the 1960s, essential contributions by the late Ludovico Borgo and by Everett Fahy threw new light on Baccio della Porta, especially his beginnings, before he became a monk. In recent years three exhibitions of Fra' Bartolomeo's drawings held in Florence (1986), Rotterdam (1990), and Paris (1994), promoted by the Danish scholar Chris Fisher, provided an exhaustive and up-to-date survey of the artist's production. In these same years a campaign of restoration was begun on all the paintings by the Frate and his school in the Florentine state museums; this is now being completed. Some fifty panels, a few canvases, and detached frescoes to be exhibited in Florence from 24 April to 24 July 1996 were divided into two groups: the paintings by the Frate and by Albertinelli chosen by the Medici for their collections (to be shown in the Palazzo Pitti); and the other works (to be shown in the former convent, now museum, of San Marco).

Among the pictures, the most important is the largest of the Frate's altarpieces, the *Marriage of Saint Catherine*, which was painted for the church of San Marco in 1512 and was included in the Medici grand duke's collection in the Palazzo Pitti in 1690. Vasari speaks of the splendor of the picture but laments the alteration of the palette as a consequence of the darkening of the shadows, an observation echoed in all subsequent literature. Now the large altarpiece has regained some of its theatrical and dramatic grandeur and compares with Raphael's contemporary achievements.

A restoration, far from being a mere technical process, offers a critical interpretation of the work of art. This exhibition provides a unique occasion to revisit the production of Fra' Bartolomeo by seeing side by side, in a cleaned state, splendid paintings such as the Uffizi *Vision of Saint Bernard* restored to limpid freshness, the Pitti *Pietà*, recovered from a heavy seventeenth-century transformation, and the Pitti *Salvator Mundi*, once a dull, academic composition, now a glory of most refined colors. The exhibition includes loans from Italian, European, and American collections, among which are some new attributions to the Frate and to Albertinelli. Drawing on the restorations and the new material, the exhibition analyzes the development of Fra' Bartolomeo and his Scuola di San Marco: the chronological and stylistic adjustments enhance comprehension of the poetic inspiration and the artistic inventions that vivify the deep religious engagement of this painting of the high Renaissance in Florence.

Steven A. Mansbach, American Academy in Berlin
A Methodological Introduction to the Classic Avant-Garde of Eastern Europe

The creativity in the visual arts that had taken place on the eastern periphery of Europe more than three-quarters of a century ago remains for many in the West terra incognita. Yet the modern art created from the Baltic through the Balkans constitutes the very foundation for the modernist art well known in the Western world. Without an awareness of the formative role played by artists from central, eastern, and southeastern Europe in the genesis and reception of modern art, our understanding of its full significance will remain partisan and purblind.

The book I am completing represents the first critical assessment of this material in its geographical breadth and historical context. Focusing on its classical phase, roughly from the last quarter of the nineteenth century through the 1930s, the study necessarily confronts methodological, historical, and practical challenges that depart from those encountered in studying modern art created in the West.

Mark Laird, Toronto

"A Perfect Slope of Beautiful Flowers": The Shrubbery and Flower Beds in the English Landscape Garden

The landscape garden is usually characterized as a composition of undulating lawns and clumps of trees, embellished with temples and serpentine lakes—in short, a place without the bright color of flowers or flowering shrubs. Over the past ten years, my research on planting in the eighteenth-century pleasure ground has altered this perception; my watercolor reconstructions have brought color back to the landscape garden. Drawing on a wide range of visual and textual sources—from layout plans to planting plans, from pencil sketches to oil paintings, and from visitor accounts to nurserymen's bills—I have attempted to piece together the fragments of a lost art form: ornamental planting design as picturesque composition.

In a forthcoming book on the shrubbery and flower garden from 1720 to 1800, I present new material on planting systems, design theory and practice, the nursery trade, and private collectors. This lecture is concerned with the genesis of the shrubbery around 1750 and its origins in the wilderness and wood-walks of the preceding generation. I examine the processes of specification and site supervision through the contracts of Robert Greening at Wimpole and Capability Brown at Tottenham House, touching on the introduction of North American species through John Bartram of Philadelphia. It was Bartram's flowering shrubs that provided the new impulse to create exotic displays in graduated formation: the "amphitheater" or "theatrical plantation." My research on the "auricula theater" offers a new way of appreciating the artifice that lay behind the aesthetics of the "theatrical" flower bed and shrubbery, and my study of the "rosary" reveals the underlying geometry of much eighteenth-century planting design. In conclusion, I illustrate the practical replanting of Painshill Park, Surrey, and discuss how the eighteenth-century shrubbery and flower beds have proved to be complex organisms of fleeting beauty.

John B. Onians, University of East Anglia
Toward a Natural History of Art

The first history of art to survive in the West is that contained in Pliny's *Natural History*. It constitutes a small though significant final section within an encyclopedic account of the ways in which human beings transform nature. Strangely, Pliny's approach, which places art within the wider context of man's overall relation to nature, has never been imitated. Similarly, although writers such as Aristotle built their explanations of artistic activity on assumptions about human instincts, there have been only occasional and limited later attempts to pursue inquiries in this area. The natural history of art proposed here represents an attempt to renew the discipline of art history by taking up the challenge of these ancient founders of European culture. It seeks to build an understanding of art history on an understanding of the nature of human beings and, especially, their relation to their environment.

Essential preliminaries to this history are a reconstruction of the steps by which *Homo sapiens* emerges as an animal with a unique, genetically determined biology. A comparison with other animals, especially with other primates, makes it possible to form an idea of the special resources that allowed our ancestors to adapt to a variety of specialized ecological niches. This throws into relief the roles of the nervous system and of the sensory and motor apparatus. Most important in the context of a study of art are the neural links that facilitate the mutually interrelated operations of the eyes and the hands.

The success of such a history should be measured by its ability to contribute to an understanding of why art—in all its manifestations—appears in the first place and why those manifestations change through time and space. Put simply, it should help to explain the specific phenomena that have already been described in great detail and with great sophistication by students of art of all persuasions. These phenomena may be either general, such as the existence of preferences for pattern-making or representation, the propensity for the formation of personal, local, and period styles, or the tendency of art to acquire social and semiotic functions; or particular, such as the appearance of permanent art in the

Paleolithic period, the constitution of a new integrated tradition in ancient Greece, or the recent emergence throughout the world of a postmodern condition. Rather than being a critique of existing approaches to the history of art, this natural history of art seeks to support them by shedding light on the mechanisms underlying the behaviors to which they draw attention.

Research Projects

Three long-term projects intended to produce scholarly research tools are in preparation at the Center for Advanced Study. One project, under the direction of the dean and with the support of the Graham Foundation, is intended to provide the National Gallery's photographic archives with a record of pre-1800 architectural drawings, primarily Italian. To date this project has generated approximately 25,000 photographs from repositories including Berlin: Kunstbibliothek; Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria; Florence: Biblioteca Marucelliana, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Biblioteca Nazionale, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Uffizi; London: British Library, British Museum, Royal Institute of British Architects, Sir John Soane Museum; Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional; Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe; Turin: Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Reale, Museo Civico; and Venice: Biblioteca Marciana.

A second research project, under the direction of the associate dean and with the support of the Getty Grant Program and the Graham Foundation, is the creation of an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology. Images and texts from the seventeenth to nineteenth century have been compiled, with the intention of tracking words as they were adapted and transformed in the evolution of an American landscape vocabulary.

A third research project, directed by the assistant dean, is the creation of a guide to documentary sources for the art history and archaeology of the Andean region of South America. The guide will cover relevant illustrated and nonillustrated textual sources from the sixteenth to nineteenth century, crucial for the study of Prehispanic and colonial visual traditions. The region to be covered is defined by the extent of the Inka empire: Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, northern Chile, northwestern Argentina, and southwestern Colombia. The guide will consider the contributions, intentions, perspectives, and biases of these key sources through a series of essays and an annotated, illustrated bibliography.

Publications

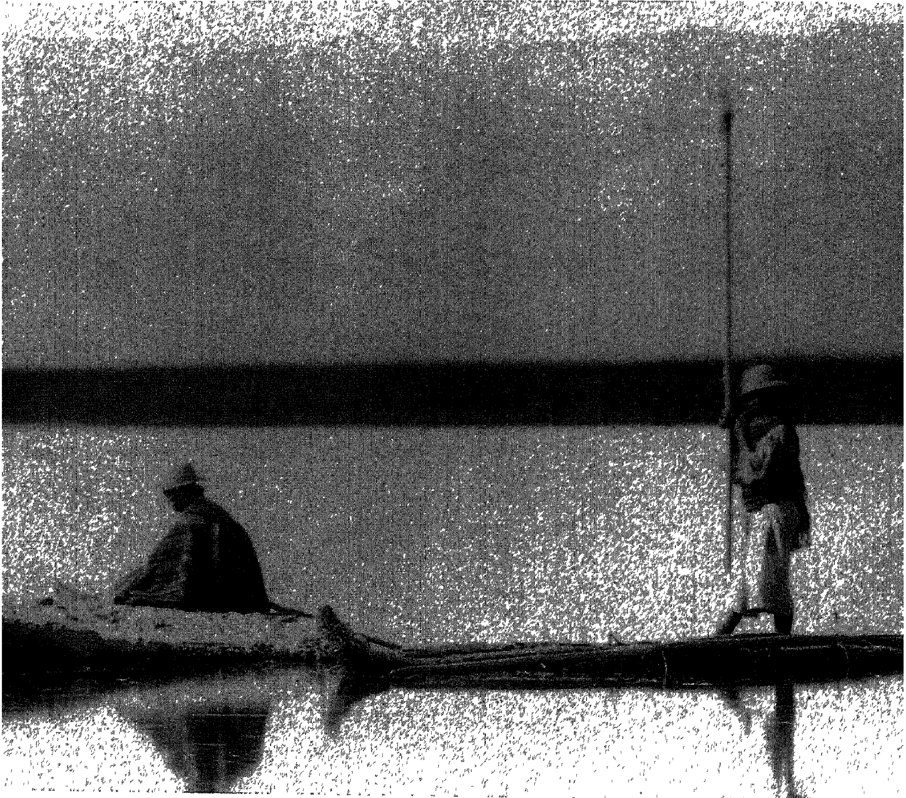
The papers of a symposium held in 1993, *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review*, were published in 1995 as part of the symposium series of the National Gallery's Studies in the History of Art. Papers of six other symposia are in preparation for the series: "The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology"; "The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome"; "Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910"; "Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals"; "New Vermeer Studies"; and "The Art of the Ancient Spectacle." A complete listing of publications in the symposium series may be found on page 160. Another volume, *Saint-Porchaire Ceramics*, was published as part of the conservation series of Studies in the History of Art. These papers are the fruit of a conservation-curatorial colloquy sponsored by the Center for Advanced Study in 1992.

A special volume commemorating thirty years of the Samuel H. Kress Professorship at the National Gallery of Art was published in 1995. *A Generous Vision: Samuel H. Kress Professors, 1965–1995* was edited by Elizabeth Pendleton Streicher. The volume includes a brief review of their curricula vitae, along with a list of fellows during their professorships, and personal impressions and recollections written by fellows in residence at the National Gallery during the tenure of the professors.

Research Reports of Members

The following research reports concern work accomplished by fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts who were in residence during the period June 1995 to May 1996. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1996. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1996 will appear in *Center 17*.

Cut stone blocks at the site of Iwawi on shores of Lake Titicaca, Bolivia, 1895. University of Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. Photograph: Max Uhle



JUAN B. ALBARRACIN-JORDAN

Material Culture and Interpretations of the Prehispanic Past: The North American Contribution to Bolivian Archaeology (1860–1960)

A fundamental dimension of historical analysis is the consideration of the sociocultural environment and the intellectual atmosphere in which diverse interpretations of the past emerge. Ideas about ancient society originate, however, within a broader and more intricate social, political, and economic scenario. Following the first Spanish and Portuguese explorations in the New World, a unique tapestry of indigenous cultures was unraveled. This complex array of human social organization drew the attention of early chroniclers who gathered extensive information about native oral history and mythology. To the Western eye, the Prehispanic past fit a larger theological framework.

It was not until the birth of the Bolivian Republic, in 1825, however, that a broader interest in the origins and development of Andean society emerged. The Spanish theological paradigm of previous centuries was supplanted by a liberal ideology, deeply rooted in philosophical and political trends of Central Europe. This study focuses principally on North American scholars of the Prehispanic past, whose outlook was informed by these European traditions.

Numerous European and North American explorers traveled extensively throughout the Amazonian jungle and the high plateau regions of Bolivia. Among these travelers was Ephraim G. Squier (1821–1888), who was appointed commissioner of the United States government to Peru by Abraham Lincoln. Although his mis-

sion was exclusively intended for diplomatic purposes, Squier took advantage of his stay to explore the Andean region. Squier had investigated the ancient mounds of the Mississippi River by 1845, and his book *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi River* (with Edwin H. Hamilton) was the first publication of the Smithsonian Institution and the first major contribution to North American archaeology. During his two-year stay in Peru and Bolivia, Squier carried out surveys and excavations at several sites; his interpretations of ancient society derived from the material remains that he had excavated; in this he was alone among his contemporaries and rightly has been called the "first professional" North American archaeologist. During my research period at the Center for Advanced Study, I was able to locate significant documents that reveal Squier's character and the reasons he pursued the study of native American cultures; particularly important were his correspondence and other documents at the United States National Archives, dating from his 1863 stay in Lima as United States commissioner.

Adolph Bandelier (1840–1914), a Swiss immigrant to the United States, visited Peru in 1892. Owing to political turmoil in the region, he left for Bolivia in 1894 and sought permission to excavate at the ancient city of Tiwanaku. Bolivian authorities denied this request, while granting him permission to investigate the Island of Titicaca (Island of the Sun) and the Island of Koati (Island of the Moon). He managed to collect an important number of ceramic and textile specimens in both places. These collections are now in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. A look at Bandelier's field notes provided better understanding of the former banker's motives and his interpretations of ancient native society.

The contribution of Wendell C. Bennett (1905–1953) constitutes a singular chapter in the history of archaeological science. His 1932 excavations at Tiwanaku uncovered numerous stelae, and his seriation of the ceramic materials formed the basis for the chronological sequence of the area. While most of his contemporaries focused on cultural-historical issues, Bennett pioneered in archaeological explanation. In 1934, Bennett returned to Bolivia to conduct excavations in diverse geographic regions. While

Bennett's work is better known than that of Squier or Bandelier, his significant contribution to Bolivian archaeology has been considered less important in terms of theory and methodology. Nonetheless, the criteria used today to classify Tiwanaku ceramics are those that Bennett established some sixty years ago.

Alfred Kidder II (1911–1984) graduated from Harvard in 1937. Son of the famous archaeologist A. V. Kidder, Alfred was exposed to the science of archaeology from a young age. Not to be overshadowed by his father, he chose a different geographic area to carry out his research. Under the auspices of the University Museum of Pennsylvania, Kidder visited Bolivia in 1955, conducting small-scale excavations at the sites of Tiwanaku and Chiripa. His interest in the southern Titicaca Basin sites lay in the understanding of the chronological relationships of this region. Other than the brief report that Kidder published in the *Bulletin* of the University Museum, little of his findings at Tiwanaku and Chiripa, or interpretations, has been published. His correspondence, kept in the archives of the University Museum, has proven useful in understanding not only the nature of his archaeological findings but also his thoughts about Precolumbian society.

During my fellowship I was able to obtain information related to the specific biographies of the archaeologists and to consider the broader social and intellectual context that stimulated their work. Squier, Bandelier, Bennett, and Kidder were pioneers in the introduction of archaeological methods, and their research still holds important implications for current thinking on Prehispanic society.

Empresa Consultora en Arqueología, La Paz
Inter-American Development Bank and
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellow, winter 1996

ALBERT AMMERMAN

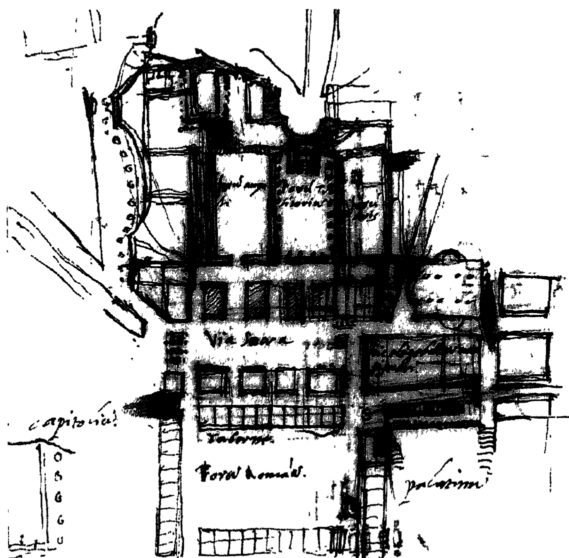
Reconstructing the Ancient City

An act of reconstruction involves an attempt to regain or recapture a part of the world that has been lost. As such, it makes a fundamental appeal to human curiosity. In the case of Rome, the ancient city par excellence, the reconstructions produced over the last five centuries have taken many different forms: maps, paintings, prints, gardens, theater scenery, and scale models. This diversity may help to explain why these cultural artifacts have not been studied as a group or a class before. Indeed, it is surprising how little interest has been taken so far in reconstructions as a broad class of objects that Western society has produced since the Renaissance. Perhaps the time has come for reconstructions to have an archaeology of their own.

For its maker, a reconstruction establishes an encounter between an incomplete state of knowledge and the imagination at work. For the viewer, a reconstruction presents itself as a piece of reified memory. A reconstruction is nothing if it does not take risks. And yet it must not go too far: otherwise it becomes simply an imaginary city or an architectural caprice. There is a delicate balance on the maker's part in taking just a few steps beyond the bounds of knowledge at the time and in completing the unknown according to culturally accepted rules (again belonging to the time), so that the reconstruction will be seen as plausible, or better still, as one that is convincing. In order to achieve this, the maker

has to exercise something akin to what Giambattista Vico called the reconstructive imagination. On the other side, in the case of the informed viewer, there is a nuanced response in which most of the piece is examined with critical judgment and yet some of its parts are approached with a willing suspension of disbelief (in the sense of Samuel Taylor Coleridge). A reconstruction is thus both a record of a state of knowledge and a dialogue between its maker and the viewer. At the same time, if these "artifacts" are taken together and examined in time series, they offer a unique documentation of our restless vision of the past.

It is then of interest to trace the development of attempts to reconstruct the ancient city of Rome over the last five hundred years. During my stay at the Center for Advanced Study, I decided to pay special attention to the beginning and end of the story. For many of the artists and architects who came to Rome in the Renaissance, reconstructing the ancient city became a leading passion. The example was set by Filippo Brunelleschi, who was one of the first to travel to Rome and make detailed studies of the ancient building there; according to Giorgio Vasari, such was his involvement in the



Giovanni Sallustio Peruzzi, Reconstruction of the forum and adjacent areas in Rome, c. 1536 or later. Uffizi, Florence (GDSU 657A). Photograph: Gabinetto Fotografico, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici

work and the power of his imagination that Brunelleschi could see ancient Rome in his mind's eye as the city had once been. To bring the ancient city back to life was an endeavor that stood at the heart of the double task of the humanist imagination—that is, to dig down into the past and to make that which had been lost whole again. Nevertheless, the going was slow and rough in the beginning, as revealed by the efforts of Giovanni Marcanova, Il Cronaca, Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Marco Fabio Calvo, and Baldassarre Peruzzi. In retrospect, it can be seen that the task that the humanist archaeologists had set for themselves was a remarkably difficult one.

In order to reconstruct the ancient city, one had to master three quite different areas: (1) the mapping of contemporary Rome, (2) knowledge of the city's ancient topography, and (3) competence at rendering ancient architecture. Early steps toward map-making were made by Leon Battista Alberti in his *Descriptio Urbis Romae*, and an ichnographic map of the existing city of Rome was finally produced by Leonardo Bufalini in 1551. Leaving the world of the *Mirabilia* behind, Flavio Biondo placed the study of ancient topography on a new course with his *Roma instaurata*; the cumulative gains in scholarship over several generations were put to use in guidebooks on ancient Rome such as the one by Bartolomeo Marliani (the first to include illustrations; 1544). On the architectural front, the challenge in the library was how to read Vitruvius (as well as how to illustrate his text when a new edition was published); in the field, the architects deepened their archaeological knowledge by preparing measured drawings of monuments such as the Colosseum and the Theater of Marcellus. The great ambition to reconstruct the ancient city, specifically in the form of a map, is voiced by the letter of Raphael to Pope Leo X and by Claudio Tolomei's letter to Count Agostino de' Landi (1542). The first person to bring all three strands together was Pirro Ligorio in the *Imago* (1561), his bird's-eye view of the entire ancient city. Stefano Du Perac (1574) and Mario Cartaro (1579) were soon to follow with maps of their own. Insight into the reception of these images is offered by Michel de Montaigne, whose initial ideas about the ancient city were shaped by such reconstructions but who grew

more skeptical about them after his visit to Rome in 1581.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century (with the reconstructions by Famiano Nardini, Francesco Bianchini, Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Luigi Rossini, Luigi Canina, and others all created in the intervening years), the new round of excavations in Rome—now the capital of the unified Italy—led to the solution of a number of longstanding problems in ancient topography. The complex puzzle of the area near the Forum Romanum, for example, was finally worked out. With the publication of the detailed map sheets in Rodolfo Lanciani's *Forma Urbis Romae*, the stage was set for something new; Paul Bigot and Italo Gismondi now each built their large models of the ancient city. Under Benito Mussolini and his program to isolate and highlight several of the main ancient monuments in the center of Rome, reconstruction was taken to an even larger scale; such restorations were to change the very fabric of the modern city itself. The act of reconstruction, in effect, had come full circle.

Colgate University; Università degli Studi di Trento
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1995–1996

OSKAR BÄTSCHMANN

The Rise of the Modern Exhibition Artist

During the second half of the eighteenth century, a new type of artist emerged and began to dominate the field. For this new type of artist, successor of both the court artist and the artist entrepreneur, I propose the term *exhibition artist.* This new artist did not execute works for clients or on commission (with the exception of portraits); he did not work under contract or for a secured reimbursement. His products were shown in an exhibition, a recent phenomenon. The exhibition public, a new social body with great but diffuse power, made distinct judgments on art and artists, but these opinions were based on vague and disputed knowledge. The exhibition artist depended entirely on acclaim from the audience. He was forced to develop and exercise new strategies to gain the favor of the audience, and to prevail over his rivals, who equally attempted to attract attention to their work.

The aims, activities, and self-definition of the exhibition artist were first described in a letter by Henry Fuseli to his sponsor, William Roscoe, in 1790. In imitation of John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, Fuseli conceived the idea of his Milton Gallery. Like Benjamin West, Fuseli believed there were only two possibilities for the contemporary painter: court artist or exhibition artist, and he declared his decision to work for the exhibition. In France Jacques-Louis David in 1799 put forward in the exhibition brochure for *The*

Sabine Women very clearly the condition of success: to capture the attention of the spectators. David's brochure for the exhibition contained, beyond a detailed description of the painting, justification for the *exposition payante*. David argued that genius needs freedom, but freedom means financial independence and that an entrance fee attesting to the public's interest was an honorable contribution to the freedom of the artist. As the arts are destined for common benefit, David argued, private profit is legitimated because it guarantees the freedom of the artist through the successful captivation of public interest, which is flattered as the incorruptible judge of artistic merit.

In England, however, a struggle occurred between the desire for public patronage of serious history painting and the one-man show organized for the attraction of the public through exhibition pictures. In 1779–1780 John Singleton Copley completed the first exhibition paintings destined to be presented to the public in a one-man show. The Royal Academy condemned it as "raree-show," and Valentine Green seriously criticized the "speculation pictures." But Copley, along with the exhibition manager and print editor

Jackson Pollock, *Untitled*, c. 1951, black and blue ink on rice paper. National Gallery of Art, Washington, anonymous gift



William Bullock, realized early on that there had been a fundamental change in the way that art sought an audience and potential buyers. By the end of the century artists elsewhere—in Rome, Paris, London, and Berlin—were also confronted with the challenges of the new phenomenon of the exhibition.

My purpose is the analysis of this fundamental change in the relationship between art and the public and its consequences, considering the interdependence of all the factors of this new system until present times. It is, for example, interesting that in the 1940s and 1950s a younger generation of American painters was pressured to legitimize their art. Forced to talk about their work, to give interviews and lectures, to describe what they were doing, and to show how they worked, the artists were required to explain how the public should view their paintings or sculpture and understand their work. In no other democratic system was the artist under similar pressure, and nowhere else was the artist forced to defend the freedom of creativity against a perceived political link between abstract art and communism. This widespread and intense public interest had its basis in public accusation of the artist. The arguments, the conduct of and the products of the artists must be considered in connection with this hostile situation. My research in Washington was focused mostly on these problems.

Universität Bern, Institut fur Kunstgeschichte
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1995

MARIA CASTRO

Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt: A Contribution to Their Interpretation and Dating

Known by a few specialists in Europe and Cairo, the existence of mummy portraits was made public in 1887 by a Viennese merchant, Theodor Graf, who had bought more than three hundred of them from inhabitants of the oasis Fayum, south of Cairo. These had been discovered by Bedouin salt miners in the ancient necropolis of the modern town of Er-Rubayat in the Fayum, hence the name "Fayum Portraits." With ninety-five of his most beautiful mummy portraits, Graf traveled through Europe and the United States. The new discovery was a sensation, not only because the portraits of men, women, and youths were so well preserved, with extraordinarily fresh, vivid colors, but because they were at once recognized to be a fraction of what has survived of ancient paintings which were so highly praised by classical authors. In the following years systematic excavations were carried out by English archaeologist Flinders Petrie, in Hawara (Fayum), and by his French colleague Albert Gayet, in Antinoe (Central Egypt). This work not only yielded many more portraits and information about their context, but contributed to the early understanding of the paintings.

Mummy portraits, thin wooden panels placed on the face of the deceased, were integrated into the bandages that wrapped the mummy. The majority show the deceased in his or her prime, at





rait of a Woman,
ı Er-Rubayat, Egypt
ɔre restoration),
D. fourth century,
ɔera on wood.
eo Nacional,
ana. Photograph:
ıbarton Oaks,
hington

rait of a Woman
·r restoration).
·ograph: Christian
oeben

about thirty years of age. Most were executed in encaustic, whereby colored pigments were bound with cleaned beeswax and applied to the wood with at least two different instruments. The technique, described by Pliny the Elder, produces the bright colors that made these portraits famous. The technique was later replaced by tempera painting, often on thicker wood panels, which produced a more restrictive illusionistic effect.

Mummy portraits are a Roman addition to the then three-thousand-year-old Egyptian tradition of mummification. Popular for nearly four hundred years when the Romans ruled Egypt, portrait production gradually ceased after Christianity was introduced and pagan cults such as mummification were forbidden. The older mummy portraits are of superior pictorial quality and display a riveting naturalism. In the last century of their production, the portraits became rather simplified. Today more than 750 portraits are known throughout the world.

The Museo Nacional of Cuba possesses nine mummy portraits of different periods and qualities. They have not been properly studied: five of them have been previously published without special reference to their origin and interpretation, with small and deficient photographs. The others have not been published, except one in a minor publication, and the group as a whole remains unknown to the general public. Research for the publication of a catalogue with a comprehensive study of these portraits, the only ones in Latin America, has been my main goal while in residence in the Center for Advanced Study. Time spent in specialized libraries and visiting collections of Fayum portraits in the United States has given me a more thorough understanding of these works and some new information. For instance, while consulting the Census of Late Roman, Early Christian, and Byzantine Art in the United States and Canada at Dumbarton Oaks, I realized that five of the mummy portraits now in Havana still appeared in these archives as the private property of Louis Lion, a New York art dealer who sold them fifty years ago to Joaquín Gumá, the Cuban collector. Up-to-date information with good photographs, registration numbers, measures, and the names of collectors and collections were supplied to the Center for Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks for the benefit of scholars.

I was also able to identify an old photograph of one of the Fayum portraits of the Cuban collection, prior to restoration, showing the original jewelry and details of the garment. This allows greater accuracy in the dating as well as a correct interpretation for conservation of this piece. In addition to the research for the catalogue, I compiled valuable information for the future reinstallation of the Egyptian rooms in the Museo Nacional in Havana. Problems such as lighting three-dimensional objects and the design of cases suitable for these objects were discussed with specialists from the National Gallery of Art and the Freer Gallery of Art, who kindly provided me with literature, photographs, slides, and drawings for this coming project.

Universidad de La Habana
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Latin American Visiting
Senior Research Fellow, summer 1995

JULIEN CHAPUIS

Underdrawing in Paintings of the Stefan Lochner Group

The long-awaited exhibition *Stefan Lochner, Meister zu Köln: Herkunft-Werke-Wirkung*, held at the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, in 1993–1994, reunited most of the works ascribed to the artist for the first time since 1936. It drew attention to Cologne's importance in the broader context of late-medieval European painting and prompted a lively debate about its most famous artist. Yet critics noted that none of the contributors to the catalogue were willing to draw a synthetic monograph and that many questions remain unanswered. Indeed, the paucity of documents related to Stefan Lochner—we are informed only of the last nine years of his life, from 1442 until 1451—has resulted in a lack of agreement on such fundamental issues as the artist's identity and origin, the nature and the chronology of his oeuvre, the importance of his workshop, and his position in fifteenth-century painting.

My dissertation, completed during my residency at the Center for Advanced Study, reevaluates the oeuvre ascribed to Stefan Lochner in the light of an extensive examination of his works by infrared reflectography, which reveals a painting's underdrawing. The presence of graphic idiosyncracies in the underdrawing adds a vital element to the criteria by which attributions to Lochner might be made. Combined with a new reading of archival documents—especially the regulations of the Cologne painters' craft, technical studies provide a model for the organization of Lochner's work-



Stefan Lochner, *Last Judgment*, detail, underdrawing of two damned souls, c. 1440. Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne. Infrared reflectography: Molly Faries

shop. A comparison of Lochner's working methods with those of artists in Cologne who preceded and followed him provides new opportunities to define Lochner's relation to the local tradition and his legacy in that city.

Although the results of technical studies form the underpinnings of the dissertation, its concerns are broader. Relatively few drawings can be attributed to northern artists of the fifteenth century, and fewer still can be linked with any degree of certainty to Cologne. Our understanding of graphic languages in Germany is based primarily on the print production, a distorted view because the techniques of woodcut and engraving imposed restrictions on printmakers that draftsmen could disregard. It is not until Martin Schongauer, active in Colmar in the last quarter of the century, that we can confidently associate a particular graphic language with a specific locale. In addition to increasing the overall corpus of fifteenth-century drawings, the underdrawings revealed by the reflectography of Lochner's paintings offer tangible evidence of a graphic style that was practiced in Cologne in the 1430s and 1440s. They show

Lochner to be a draftsman of the first order who practiced a style quite new at the time: derived from metalwork, it foreshadows Schongauer's achievements by some forty years.

The Cologne exhibition demonstrated that the traditional questions of Lochner's origins and the chronology of his work cannot be answered. The dissertation sets out to address other issues, such as Lochner's artistic self-consciousness, his terms of reference, and the position of painting in Cologne. Since the early nineteenth century, critics have defined the quality of Lochner's art primarily as a response to early Netherlandish painting, assuming that Lochner moved gradually toward the realism of the Flemings or that he retreated from it in favor of a dialogue with the local Cologne tradition. The dissertation demonstrates Lochner's concurrent use of several idioms to address the specific demands of his commissions, and it situates his works in a broader material and visual culture. Although it is undeniable that Lochner was aware of the inventions of the Flemings, his terms of reference were not restricted to painting. The prominent position of painting in modern museums obscures the fact that in earlier times other media were often more highly esteemed; goldsmith's work is one form of art to have been severely devalued over the centuries. In Lochner's time, Cologne was the most important center for the production of works in precious metal in the German empire, and goldsmiths were both more numerous and more influential than painters; in addition, the greatest object of veneration in the city remained Nicholas of Verdun's monumental reliquary of the Three Magi. Lochner selected his pictorial means to establish a conscious parallel with the work of goldsmiths, raising the status of painting by endowing it with the quality of the most revered form of art. One could argue that costliness is a general feature of the International Gothic, of which Lochner is simply a late exponent. His emulation of metalwork is not superficial, however; it governs the creative process of his paintings as early as their underdrawing. The dissertation suggests how, at a time when written art theory lay in the future, an artist's aesthetic stance could be implicit in his works.

[Indiana University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1994–1996

ALBERTO CIPINIUK

Brazilian and American Art: A Social Approach to Neoclassical Style

It has become something of a historical commonplace to say that neoclassicism emerged in Lisbon after the earthquake of 1755 and thereafter was disseminated to Rio de Janeiro. The "Pombaline style," as it was called, was created by the Portuguese prime minister, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, Conde de Oeiras and 8° Marquês de Pombal, and his engineers in rebuilding the capital of an impoverished country whose economy relied chiefly on the exploitation of colonial Brazilian resources and whose social structure had remained essentially medieval. A few recent buildings of Lisbon exhibited a retardative variety of Roman baroque architecture.

Examining the important reforms undertaken by Pombal—a draconian program of imperial, military, and administrative reform designed to reduce the country's trade dependence with Great Britain—in conjunction with his reconstruction of Lisbon, we can see that the desire to transform an agrarian economy into an urban-industrial society would determine the configuration of the neoclassical style in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. The Pombaline style was more than a projection of, or advertisement for, mercantile reforms: it was a primary means of achieving reform. Through use of an internationally accepted style, Pombal believed that he could elevate Portugal's status. Nevertheless, in Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro, international neoclassicism with its allusions to Greco-

Roman antiquity, became a Portuguese adaptation of classicism of the French Academy and the practical military engineering of Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban and Bernard Forest De Belidor.

The political reforms of Pombal did not lead to change in artists' organizations, patronage, and apprenticeship in Brazil. Patronage was confined as before to a small but highly placed group. An anticipated increase in commissions did not occur. The colonists remained curiously indifferent to painting, sculpture, and architecture. Wealthy Brazilians rarely visited foreign countries other than Portugal, and unfamiliarity with art objects and indifference to their importance and relationship to the life of the community were characteristic of this period.

The art object was perceived as a craft product, not an intellectual pursuit. Most of the crafts were the work of slaves, and consequently in Brazil, guilds and apprenticeships were virtually nonexistent. Black and mulatto workers, even Jews, were considered criminal in late eighteenth-century Brazilian society. The concept of the great artist, the man of individuality and genius, did not exist. With the exception of a few artisans such as Mestre Antônio Francisco Lisboa "o Aleijadinho" and Mestre Valentim, most are unknown. Only in exceptional cases did the craftsman achieve immortality. Normally the name of the commissioner survived while the name of the creator did not, and this anonymity reflected the indifference to individual creation.

After gathering extensive documentation in Rio de Janeiro about the artist in Brazilian society, I turned my research to North American artists and their society to elucidate the transference of neoclassical style to the New World. I am trying to establish a relationship between the commercial orientation of the Brazilian coffee grower and the urban tradesman, and their patronage, with fundamental aspects of North American society: its mobility, its relative equality, its lack of deference, and its aggressiveness, all of which made possible the growth of an artistic community and a new style in North America.

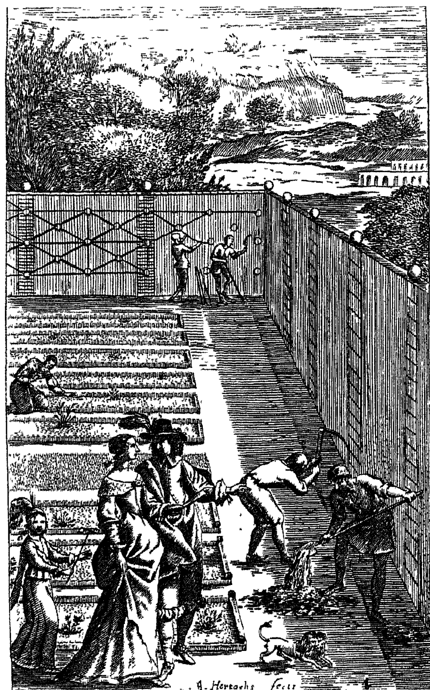
Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro
Inter-American Development Bank and Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1995

DAVID R. COFFIN

Villas and Gardeners

Several of the sixteenth-century villas in and near Rome contain depictions of themselves in their interior decoration. An examination of these images reveals a variety of reasons for their use, but many were to be for self-aggrandizement of the owner. The "self-image" of the Roman villa begins in the late fifteenth century in the Villa Belvedere erected for Pope Innocent VIII on Monte S. Egidio just above the Vatican Palace. Among the city landscapes decorating the long loggia of the villa was a representation of the villa itself, while the private loggia of the pope had an open landscape with hunting scenes resembling the actual view from his loggia. The contrast in city and landscape views may have been to celebrate the advantages of country living over that of the city. A similar theme is exploited in the salon of the Villa Farnesina at Rome. In the Villa Lante at Rome the "self-image" is to associate the Renaissance villa with the ancient Roman villa of Martial on the Janiculum Hill.

The motif is introduced at the midcentury Villa Giulia to reflect the splendor of its owner, his domination of the land, and the benefits he has bestowed upon the Romans. This theme of self-adulation characterizes the second half of the century, especially at the Villa d'Este at Tivoli and the Farnese Palace at Caprarola, suggesting the neofeudalism that will prevail with the great seventeenth-



de Bonnefons,
ers Working in a
of a Walled Garden.
he French Gardiner,
ed by J. Evelyn
1, 1672). Photograph:
·ton Oaks, Washington

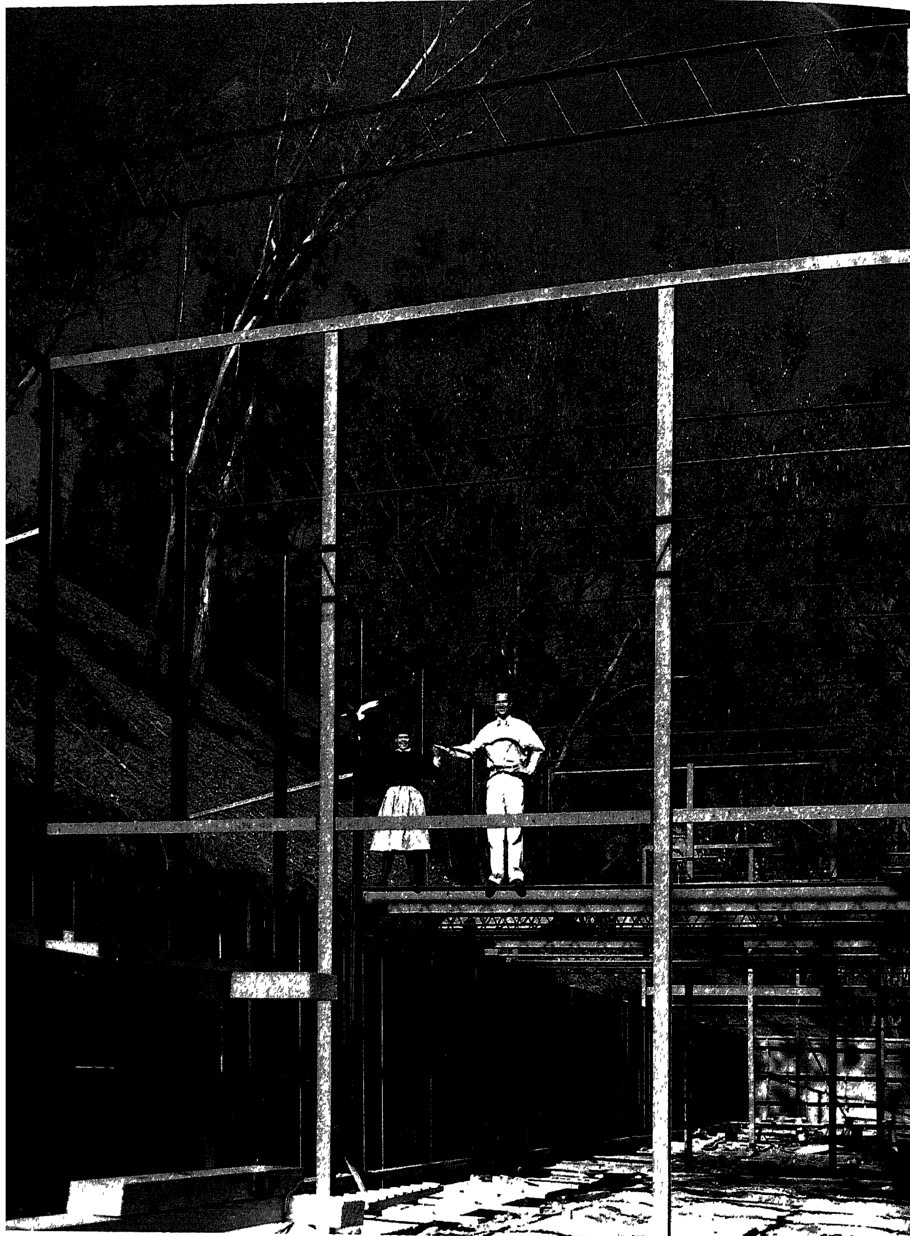
century rural estates around Rome. The Villa Lante at Bagnaia, however, owned by a relatively poor cardinal, will use the "self-image" of his villa and gardens in contrast to the splendors of Tivoli and Caprarola to assert the equality, if not the superiority, of his property in aesthetic terms. Finally, at the Villa Medici in Rome, three different images of the villa, representing past and present stages of its development as well as an unexecuted project, seem to be personal recollections to decorate the cardinal's private study and not for promotional adulation as at Tivoli and Caprarola.

Much of the time at the Center was spent in preparing a study of the gardeners in England prior to the Victorian era. In the introduction, general background matters are considered, such as the role of religion in respect to English gardening, culminating in the importance of Quakers in the eighteenth century as botanists and plant collectors. The influence of foreign gardeners played a significant role in English gardening as many were imported because of royal consorts such as Eleanor of Castile in the late thirteenth century or Henrietta Maria in the early seventeenth century.

By the eighteenth century, with the union with Scotland, the majority of important gardeners were of Scottish origin, to the dismay of some of the English patrons. The training of gardeners, primarily as apprentices, the role of the London Gardeners Company in training and regulating the actions of gardeners, and gardeners' duties as outlined in numerous gardeners' contracts are investigated. Consideration is given to the role of women in English gardening, usually limited to well-to-do patrons, many of them members of royalty, or to the very menial position of weeder. The wages and status of gardeners are the subject of extensive examination, including the significance of the writing of horticultural treatises and the existence of gardeners' portraits in their financial and social status. Finally there is a detailed consideration of the particular types of tools available to gardeners. Three principal innovations can be identified in the period under consideration. Presumably in the late Middle Ages, probably during the twelfth century, the wheelbarrow was introduced, replacing the hand-barrow of classical antiquity. With the growing popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of collecting exotic, tender plants, a means of preserving them during inclement weather developed as the orangery, hothouse, stove, or conservatory. With increasing arguments on the degree of inclination of glass windows or the means of heating a greenhouse, in the time of the Great Stove at Chatsworth in the early Victorian period, the standard glasshouse was developed. The invention in 1830 of the lawnmower marked significantly the end of the era to be considered and ushered in a new age of gardening dominated by machine labor rather than the hand labor used exclusively before this time.

The Washington area, with the National Gallery of Art, the Dumbarton Oaks Garden Library, the Folger Shakespeare Library, and the Library of the Department of Agriculture, offered outstanding collections of prints and illustrated books as sources for illustrations of gardeners at work and their tools. The dedicated search for such images by Pauline Maguire and Abby Krain has been of inestimable aid in completing this study.

Princeton University (emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1995–1996



Charles (right) and Ray Eames on the steel frame of the Eames House, Pacific Palisades, California, 1949. Photograph: John Entenza

BEATRIZ COLOMINA

Domesticity at War, 1945–1950

It was beautiful while it lasted. For a brief period, the span of about five years following the end of World War II, America seemed to embrace modern architecture. It was not, as in the case of the "International Style" exhibition of 1932, the importation of some European ideas repackaged as a style. It was the development of a new mode, one that fascinated Europe in the same way that European models had once fascinated America. Indeed, it would seem that Europeans were more taken by the new American models than Americans themselves. As Alison and Peter Smithson put it: "There has been much reflection in England on the Eames House. For the Eames House was a cultural gift parcel received here at a particularly useful time. The bright wrapper has made most people—especially Americans—throw the content away as not sustaining. But we have been brooding on it—working on it—feeding from it."[1]

How are we to understand this phenomenon? What precise role was played by the institutions that supported it? The Eames House was part of the Case Study Program of exhibition houses in Los Angeles, sponsored by the magazine *Arts & Architecture* under John Entenza. Meanwhile on the East Coast, the Museum of Modern Art played a crucial role by sponsoring a series of exhibition houses to be built in the garden of the museum. Both pro-

grams related to war, for industry was recycling the products and techniques that had been developed and tested in wartime, and the architects themselves had been involved in the development of these military products.

The Museum of Modern Art program was a direct extension of the institution's wartime operations. It began with Buckminster Fuller's deployment units, developed for the Navy, now reconfigured for a nuclear family and exhibited in the museum in 1941 with the title "Defense House." This mentality of the soldier as client, the civilian as soldier, quickly passed from wartime exhibitions to those of the postwar period. It penetrated the exhibitions "Wartime Housing" of 1942, "Useful Objects in Wartime" of 1943, "Tomorrow's Small House" of 1945, Marcel Breuer's house in the garden of 1949, and Gregory Ain's house of 1950. "Tomorrow's Small House" was the turning point from war to peace, of course, though war did not vanish. Rather it survived in the consumption of mass-produced spinoffs of military technology and efficiency. The museum's sustained attempt to produce an idealized image of postwar domesticity was a surrogate military campaign, a vital part of the Cold War.

The Case Study Houses likewise emerged out of wartime activities on the part of the sponsoring journal and the architects and the industries involved. During the war, Charles and Ray Eames, for example, had formed a company with John Entenza to mass produce plywood war products. In 1941–1942 they developed a molded splint for the United States Navy to replace a metal leg splint used in the field that did not sufficiently secure the leg, and led to gangrene. The Navy accepted the Eames prototype and, with the financial support of Entenza and the help of other architects such as Gregory Ain, designed the equipment needed for mass production, and eventually put 150,000 units into service. By 1945 the Eameses were producing lightweight plywood cabinets and molded plywood chairs and tables based on the technology they had developed for the military. Military equipment became the basis for domestic equipment. This obvious displacement from war to architecture can be found throughout the Case Study Program in subtle forms, as in the very idea of standardization.

Every component of the Eames House, for example, was selected from a steel manufacturer's catalogue and bolted together like a Meccano set.

The Museum of Modern Art likewise committed itself to the ideal of standardization after the war and no longer simply represented architecture as a high art. The Museum of Modern Art and *Arts & Architecture* targeted the middle class consumer, understood as a completely new figure, a "modern man," as Entenza said, who on returning from the war would prefer to live in a modern environment with the most advanced technologies rather than in "old fashioned houses with enclosed rooms." It was as if the war had educated the taste, the aesthetic sensibility of the public. It was war that finally brought modern architecture to the United States. This late arrival has to be carefully reconsidered in terms of the architecture of the historical avant-garde that was itself explicitly produced in response to World War I.

---

1. Alison and Peter Smithson, "Eames Celebration," *Architectural Design* 36 (September 1966), 432.

Princeton University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1995–1996

WILLIAM J CONKLIN

Reading the Art of Andean Textiles

For slightly more than five hundred years, the historical and literate *Old* World has been trying to understand the mysteries of the strange *New* World which, once discovered, was so very quickly overwhelmed. Minute analysis of the records of the earliest contacts between the two worlds is one methodological tool. But these written records made at contact provide only interpretive words from the final moment of the vast cultural chronicle of the New World. We could not extrapolate the grandeur of Mediterranean cultural history from the words of a Pedro Pizarro. If, however, we had the architecture of Egypt, of Athens, and of Rome—even without the associated words—then we could glimpse the complexity and significance of that heritage. Archaeological analysis of the New World does provide a critical form of empirical data such as chronological ladders, geographical maps, and societal structures. But neither form of data—the words received by Spanish ears and the evidence uncovered by archaeologists—provides deep insight into the minds and imaginations of the millions who were the creators of these Precolumbian cultures.

Fortunately there is one additional form of data, and that is art. Art, as a representation of ideas in physical form, as a mind/eye/hand alternative to writing, is a ready-made reference. Precolumbian art is now deeply appreciated and highly valued, but unfortunately,

because of a lack of associated data, it can only rarely be used as a source of cultural information. The absence of writing in the Andean world means that the study of art seems to be absolutely critical to our understanding of the cultural history of the American half of the globe.

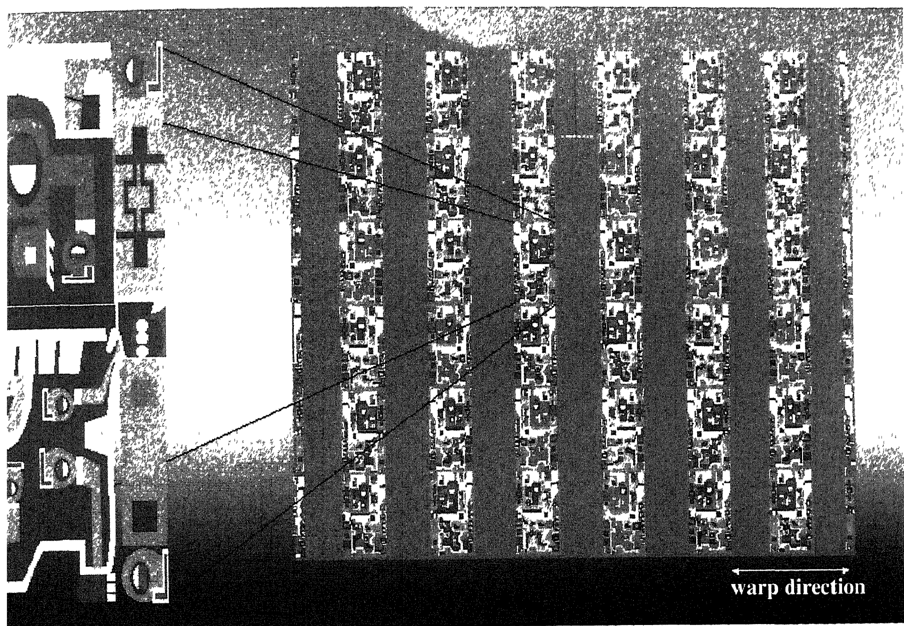
One form of art important to all evolving cultures was weaving—the creation of the eye/hand structured art of fibers. Elizabeth Barber (1994) has pointed out the little-understood importance of weaving for early European cultures, but the importance of weaving for Precolumbian cultures in the Andes is readily apparent. The remarkable preservation conditions along the Pacific coast of South America permit us to reconstruct textile evolution over thousands of years, providing examples that let us see at close range the complex and expressive human creations of many of the Precolumbian cultures.

Two sets of textiles from two different Andean cultures have been the subject of this year's research at the Center for Advanced Study: the first set being the fragmentary but finely woven 1,500-year-old Tiwanaku tunics; and the second set, the remarkably preserved textiles from an individual—a frozen Inka girl who was a mountaintop sacrifice some five hundred years ago.

Textiles representative of the Tiwanaku culture have been preserved only in the outer desert edges of the empire—primarily in Chile. A group of burials with fragmentary garments has been the subject of recovery and conservation work for five field seasons in preparation for this year's analytic work. The existing fragments of these textiles have been photographed and analyzed in Chile with the results digitized. At the Center, with the aid of the digital information and photographs, it has been possible to reconstruct images of four Tiwanaku tunics. Previously no tunics from this culture have been completely recorded. Though a laborious process, the possibility of seeing these reconstruction images in color provided its own incentive. Textiles were extremely important for this ancient culture, with many stone sculptural carvings of textiles made as evidence for posterity. Making their great textile art once again visible seems deeply responsive to the memory of the culture and also permits us to begin the work of decipherment.

Tiwanaku textiles contain much information concerning the spatial, religious, and cosmic concepts of the culture, with abstracted representations of winged deity images moving through receding space. The images pay heavy obeisance to the animal world and speak eloquently of rapport with, and respect for, the complete ecology of their region. Interestingly, no use is made by the artists of realistic or representational colors, but instead unique sets of complementary colors are chosen for each textile. These color sets, coherent in terms of saturation and lightness, seem to be used in the images with mathematically determined variations and repetitions. The manipulation of these systematically multicolored images involves many forms of symmetry, but also what is apparently a logarithmic and not an arithmetical geometry—that is, one that does not change with equal increments such as 1, 2, 3. Obviously the art of these textiles permits a keyhole view into the minds of their creators. What we glimpse is a unity of religious beliefs, cosmic concepts, geometry, and what we call art. Technically, in terms of quality of workmanship and fineness of thread count, Tiwanaku textiles are the finest ever found in the New World. They are surpassed only by the technically similar, silk interlocked tapestry of the early dynasties in China.

A portion of the year has been spent in the recovery and analysis of a set of garments worn by a young Inka girl in about A.D. 1500 at the moment of her sacrifice at the peak of Mount Ampato in Peru. The Inka, cultural descendants of Tiwanaku, in order to appease their gods, sometimes sacrificed children in a ritual called *Capac Hucha*. The discovery in 1995 of an almost perfectly preserved frozen girl from such a ritual permits the recovery of important medical and biological information as well as cultural information from the accompanying artifacts. Her garments, which were woven in Cusco and were of the highest quality, have survived in nearly perfect condition and permit us to understand Inka female clothing more completely than we have before. Her shawl or *llyclla* contains patterns that we can trace backward through Andean textile history for about two thousand years. Her accompanying dress, or *aksu*, contains no patterns but has brilliantly colored bands that seem "modern" in concept. In addition to the



Unknown artist/weaver, probably from Tiwanaku, Bolivia, *unku,* c. A.D. 600. This man's tunic was found in the Coyo Oriente burial grounds of San Pedro de Atacama, Chile, in 1975. Tunic is now in the Museo Arqueológico R.P. Gustavo Le Paige, San Pedro de Atacama. Digital reconstruction by the author with missing parts completed

human burial, several fully clothed miniature golden idols were found. The idols' clothing is about one-twelfth full size and permits valuable comparisons with the full-size clothing worn by the sacrificial victim. Drawing and technical analysis of these textiles continues.

Though the two sets of Andean clothing are separated by a millennium, their side-by-side analysis over the course of this academic year proved significant as similarities and differences emerged. Tiwanaku textiles conform to broad cultural rubrics but are expressive as individual works of art, while Inka textiles seem to glory largely in their cultural affiliation. Some of the garments used by Inka women have no counterpart in Tiwanaku clothing, although men's garments in the two cultures are structurally similar.

The search for the formal inspiration for Inka women's garments—the garments which the Spaniards actually saw when they arrived—will be another research project, but the analytic and reconstruction work accomplished on the four Tiwanaku textiles now provides a ladder of images over the time span of the culture and provides at least glimpses into the minds of their artists.

Textile Museum, Washington; Instituto de Investigaciones Arqueológicas y Museo, San Pedro de Atacama, Chile
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1995–1996

ELIZABETH CROPPER

Pontormo's *Halberdier*

Frank Jewett Mather first attached the title of *The Halberdier* to Jacopo Pontormo's *Portrait of a Young Man*, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum. Writing in the aftermath of World War I, Mather saw here "the whole terrible and splendid oblation that all generous youth at all times has made to love of country," and he believed "that we should lose something if we knew his name and lot as an individual." Giorgio Vasari also believed that the names of Pontormo's sitters were not important, but for very different reasons. He admitted that he could not identify the two friends in the double portrait now in the Fondazione Cini, Venice, but insisted that all that mattered was that the portrait was by Pontormo. Pontormo's images, as both authors perceived, could transcend individual identity. Nevertheless, Renaissance portraits were not commissioned without purpose, and the question of personal identity remains. Much of my time during the year has been spent thinking through the tension between self-fashioning and the fashioning of artistic style that this remarkable portrait represents.

Herbert Keutner (1959) first identified the sitter as the young Cosimo de' Medici on the basis of the 1612 inventory of the Riccardi collection. The most likely sitter, however, is Francesco di Giovanni Guardi (b. 29 April 1514), whose portrait Vasari records Pontormo to have painted at the time of the Siege of Florence. My





Pontormo's *The* ·*dier* and *Portrait of a Man* hanging in the ɔolitan Museum of Art, . 1970. Photograph: ɔolitan Museum of Art, ork

archival work has turned up events in the history of the Guardi del Monte family that suggest why the portrait was painted. Together, Giovanni di Gherardo Guardi and his brothers Piero and Branca inherited much property, all bound by a *fideicommisum*. On Branca's death in 1509 a lawsuit prevented his property from passing out of the family. Another suit followed the death of Piero in 1526, and in August 1529, Francesco Carducci, the radical *gonfaloniere della repubblica*, decided in favor of Giovanni Guardi. Just two months before the beginning of the siege, the young Francesco di Giovanni Guardi stood to inherit all his ancestral property.

Guardi is not dressed for combat, nor can he be identified as a member of the *milizia*, in which he was too young to serve. The image of Hercules and Antaeus on the hat badge has often been cited in support of the identification of the sitter as Cosimo de' Medici. Yet this had long stood for Florentine virtue more gener-

ally. Machiavelli cited the story of Antaeus to show that it was better for an armed people to wait for the enemy at home than to go in search of him. Hercules was, of course, a figure for the emperor, and the lifting of Antaeus by Hercules may easily be understood as the figure for siege, the most difficult struggle of all on home ground. The pathos of the group, which is indebted to Michelangelo, conveys the torment of civil war.

In response to Clement VII's request to provide for the defense of Florence after the Sack of Rome, Antonio da Sangallo designed fortifications between San Miniato and Giramonte. On the expulsion of the Medici, Michelangelo concentrated instead on the defense of San Miniato. Furthermore, the Republic, following Machiavelli's recommendation, destroyed all the villas and *borgi* for a mile outside the walls. This empty green space is clearly visible in Vasari's fresco of the siege in Palazzo Vecchio. Conspicuous there, too, are the imperial troops at Giramonte, pounding the republican defenses at San Miniato with their cannons.

Immediately below those cannons was the Guardi property known as "La Piazzuola." After October 1529, it lay between the imperial aggressors and the republican defense. Guardi stands against a corner of the green earthworks that defended San Miniato—a corner that signifies "outside the walls," and whose color stands for hope. Conventionally, the halberdier is a figure who stands guard, and as a result Francesco Guardi's very name itself helped to determine the way in which Pontormo fashioned his image. Francesco stands as the *guardia*, the vigilant sentry, who "fa la guardia" before the angle of the wall.

Important in the evolution of Pontormo's thinking was the example of Donatello. In one preparatory drawing (Uffizi 463F), the subject has the nervous glance of the *Saint George*. Ultimately he adopted the oval head and delicate features of Donatello's marble *David*, translating it into the language of Michelangelo. Though the portrait began as a record of one family's fortune, through such associations it came to stand for the *bella gioventù* defending Florence. In a city that had placed itself under the rule of Jesus Christ, the young man's beauty is a reflection of the divine, a promise of peace.

The original conception of Pontormo's portrait was disseminated through the portraits of Bronzino such as the *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bronzino's young men, however, belong to a new world of courtly manners and literary culture. Pontormo's exquisite portrait of Francesco Guardi at the time of the siege provides, in the figure of one young man, a new David—too young to fight, but standing for armed *civiltà* against the horrors of professional warfare, as he gazes out at the land he had temporarily lost—the most poignant record of a civil war that divided Florence from its past and determined the course of its future.

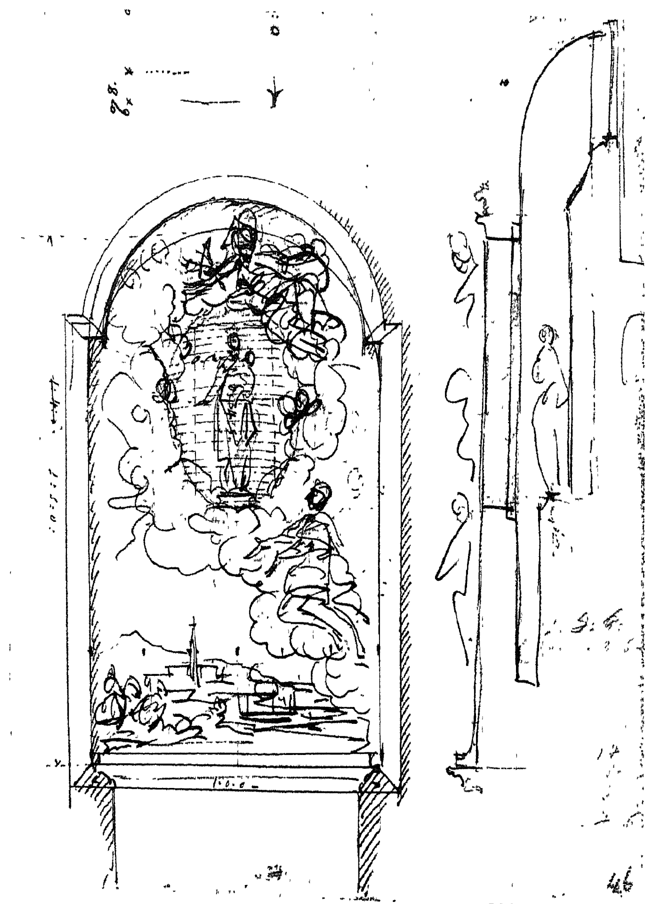
Johns Hopkins University
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1994–1996

GIUSEPPE DARDANELLO

Filippo Juvarra's Altars: Design Process and Building Management

Altars were a consistent part of Filippo Juvarra's architectural production. More than thirty-five different altars were built from his designs, and over 150 of his drawings devoted to altars are still extant. Such numbers express the importance of this object in Juvarra's work. For Juvarra (1674–1736) the altar always serves an active function in the modeling and characterizing of the space of the church, and the variety of solutions he was able to suggest is unusually wide. Studying the design process and the building management of his altars, I will address four main questions: How did Juvarra design the altars? How did he interpret the role of the altar within the architectural space of the church? How did he organize and oversee the construction of the altars? How did he modify practices of patronage and transform the organization of the workshops? While in residence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, I began looking at the Roman environment in which Juvarra was able to use his unparalleled drafting skills to study, interpret, and appropriate the works of the great masters of the Roman baroque.

During the baroque period the designing and building of altars became a crucial place of interaction and experimentation among architects, painters, and sculptors, and, as such, was an eloquent expression of the cultural and artistic experience of that time. The



Juvarra, Study for the
tar of the Basilica di
i, Turin, 1720s. Museo
d'Arte Antica, Turin,
fol. 25, n. 46

altar had to accomplish major liturgical and ceremonial functions within the space of a church or chapel. Its primary purposes were concerned with the celebration of the Eucharist—especially emphasized since the late sixteenth century by Carlo Borromeo's *Instructiones Fabricae et Supellectilis Ecclesiasticae*—and with the veneration of saints and events in the Holy Scriptures or in church history. In the baroque period, altars provided social prestige as well as embodied powerful religious significance. The amount of money invested in their construction increased during the seventeenth century,

allowing for lavish use of marble and bronze. The quality, color, texture, and polishing of these precious and refined materials conformed to changing fashions that solicited the development of a highly sophisticated architectural and decorative language.

The Antamoro Chapel in S. Girolamo della Carità (1708–1710)—the first and only built work we know of Juvarra's Roman period (1704–1714)—is an impressive example of the architect's achievement in the integration of the visual arts. The many altars Juvarra designed and built during his sojourn in Savoy Piedmont (1714–1734) were in fact deeply connected to his previous studies on Roman architecture. Since his sources can be easily identified in works built by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini, Pietro da Cortona, Carlo Fontana, Andrea Pozzo, and Matthia De Rossi, I concentrated on the increasing attention devoted to the altar in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Rome. There, altar design became an important part of the architect's professional work, as testified by the number of illustrations in contemporary architectural publications, such as Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi's *Disegni di vari altari e cappelle nelle chiese di Roma. . .*, Andrea Pozzo's *Perspectiva Pictorum et Architectorum*, and Domenico De Rossi's *Studio d'Architettura Civile.* The formal composition of Cardinal Giuseppe Sacripante's chapel, in the Jesuit church of S. Ignazio, the role of sculpture and painting in involving the viewer in the holy representation which is set on a stage within the space of the chapel, the combination of materials, and the range of professionals implicated are precisely the subjects of the *Breve descrizione fatta ad un amico da Nicola Michetti Romano. . .* (1713). The author of this rare little book devoted to an altar is a Roman architect who shared with Juvarra models, taste, attitudes, and patrons (the circle of Cardinal Ottoboni).

To investigate how Juvarra studied Roman altars, I focused on the techniques and purposes of some of his drawings of Bernini's altars, later employed by Juvarra as reference models for his altars in Turin. A sketch from the main altar in S. Tommaso di Villanova in Castel Gandolfo (Metropolitan Museum of Art, MM019) shows Juvarra working on the rendering of the atmosphere, sharply arranging the outlining to reinterpret the balance between sculptural and architec-

THIERRY DE DUVE

The Notion of Artistic Convention in French Avant-Garde Painting in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

France produced an institution that has no equivalent elsewhere—the Salons—and that generated, almost from its inception, a unique tension between the professionalism of "production" and the universalism of "address." On the one hand, the Salons are the offspring of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, which held a quasi-monopoly over artists' access to their profession. On the other hand, the Salons annually or biannually opened the production of those living artists admitted into the Académie to the appreciation of the crowd. Anybody could visit the Salon, and a public space for aesthetic judgment was thus created, which inevitably contradicted the protective measures with which the Académie and its nineteenth-century successors, the Institut and the École des Beaux-Arts, sought to maintain their aesthetic standards and the continuity of their tradition. The birth of the pictorial avant-garde (or of modernist painting—I use both expressions interchangeably) is inseparable from the conflict-ridden institutional history of the Salon, as is shown by a string of well-known crucial events, the 1863 Salon des Refusés being the major one. The Salon context constitutes the historical terrain of my research.

On the theoretical level, I started with three working hypotheses: (1) the peculiarity of the French scene accounts, at least partially, for the fact that the pictorial avant-garde was born in France;

(2) the avant-garde becomes necessary, as the only viable way to maintain the quality standards of high art, when one no longer precisely knows to whom art addresses itself; (3) the avant-garde artist is the one who understands that when the audience for art is uncertain, then aesthetic judgment can no longer bear on the beauty of a picture within set technical and aesthetic conventions, but must bear on the legitimacy of those conventions themselves. Everything hinges on the word *convention*, which is, on the one hand, a technical and aesthetic rule for the making of art (on the side of artists) and for the appreciation of art (on the side of the public); and, on the other hand, is a contract, a social pact implicitly and to a large extent unconsciously binding together artists and their public. In breaking the convention (the rule), avant-garde artists provoke the public to take stock of the fact that the convention (the pact), being uncertain, is for all practical purposes already broken and needs to be negotiated anew, case by case. Conversely, in breaking the convention (the pact), avant-garde artists make the technical and aesthetic conventions (rules) of their trade the place for the negotiation. After two months of scanning the historical material from a variety of viewpoints (mostly through secondary sources at this phase), three topics emerged, each deserving further investigation.

1. *The social composition of the Salon public.* Although the Salon audience fluctuated and dwindled to some extent after 1855 (when entry was no longer free, except on Sundays), the sheer number of visitors was astonishing: an estimated one million in 1831, more than the total population of Paris; exactly 891,682 paying visitors in 1855. Such "blockbuster" figures are explained by the fact that the Salons provided one of the first forms of mass entertainment; they do not explain, however, why and how the products of the aristocratic tradition of high art were turned into mass entertainment. The mingling of social classes (attested as early as 1777 by Sir Joshua Reynolds and still commented upon by Hippolyte Taine and Emile Zola in the 1860s) is the other astonishing fact. It is as if the Salon offered the new social classes ("J'ai vu des bourgeois, des ouvriers et même des paysans," said Zola) a space where they could brush up against each other without the usual social con-



Galerie Française, with works by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, at the Exposition Universelle, 1855, Paris. From *Exposition Universelle 1855*, pl. 10. Photograph: National Gallery of Art, Washington

straints involving status, protocol, or the hierarchies of the working place, and where class antagonisms were suspended or harmlessly, even playfully, acted out as aesthetic disputes.

2. *The strategies of address.* To an extraordinary degree, nineteenth-century French artists depended on the Salon for official recognition and ways to develop a private clientele. How to convince or seduce the jury in order to be admitted and, once admit-

ted, how to reach the public that mattered (state officials, potential buyers, influential critics), while also arousing the interest of the crowd and thus gaining the necessary publicity, became matters of strategic importance for all painters. There is ample visual evidence that the critically crucial conventions were those that purported to codify the way a painting should address its audience. They fell roughly into three groups. A first group assured the conformity of the painting to the traditional hierarchy of genres. These conventions were not merely a symbolic transposition of the social hierarchy structuring *ancien régime* France, they also attempted to actively select the addressees of painting according to their rank. They were the first to have been put in jeopardy by the conditions of universal accessibility set by the Salon, but they were not the first to go. A second group of conventions assured the self-enclosure of the scene depicted with regard to action, grouping, and narration. Their main function was to situate the scene within a space in geometric continuity with that of the viewers, yet obviously separated from them by a variety of means transposed from the world of theater and literature, and governing the way a painting should present its subject matter. Their address to the viewer essentially lay in the call for a willful suspension of disbelief. A third group assured the intellectual and moral legibility of the painting by way of the arousal of aesthetic feelings. These conventions claimed to subordinate the technical handling of the medium to effect, understood in psychological terms. They situated themselves on the level of composition, form, and brushwork and addressed the viewer with a demand to seek pleasure in the medium but to look beyond or through the medium for meaning.

3. *The either/or structure of institutionalized aesthetic judgment.* The Salon des Refusés brought into the open the blunt binary logic with which works of avant-garde art came to be appraised: either accepted or rejected; "this is art" or "this is not art." Although this alternative constitutes in my opinion the canonical formula for the *modern* aesthetic judgment (as opposed to the *classical* one, expressed by formulas such as "this [painting] is beautiful"), the historical evidence that I gathered so far indicates that the either/or model does not simply echo the opposition of avant-garde and aca-

demic art. Such an opposition is largely the product of hindsight; not only were the boundaries much more blurred in the actual life of the Salon, but it seems that the most acute aesthetic debates stemmed from within the gray zone dubbed under Louis-Philippe *le juste milieu*. There is, I believe, a fruitful paradox in the fact that a clear-cut "all or nothing" paradigm should emerge from the same socio-aesthetic conditions that spawned various compromise solutions between modernism and academicism (from Ary Scheffer in the romantic generation to Jules Bastien-Lepage in the impressionist generation). The *juste milieu* painters precisely provide the conventions against which the breaking of conventions by the avant-garde painters should be evaluated, because, as both the expression *juste milieu* and the double meaning of the word convention suggest, these painters were able to establish a pact with as wide and indeterminate an audience as possible. This was, however, at the expense of the ambitions of high art, which only the avant-garde painters took upon themselves to maintain.

Paris
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1995

LEAH DICKERMAN

Aleksandr Rodchenko's Camera-Eye

I have devoted this year to the completion of my dissertation: a study of the Russian constructivist Aleksandr Rodchenko's photography and photomontage in relation to theories of vision, subjectivity, and artistic practice developed by the Lef group—a loose association of Marxists and formalists, experimental artists and writers who edited and contributed to the journals *Lef* (1923–1925) and *Novyi lef* (1927–1928).

In the pages of these magazines, writers (including futurist poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, filmmaker Dziga Vertov, formalist critic Viktor Shklovsky, and Rodchenko himself) bemoaned the inability of the postrevolutionary subject to *see*. Inured by habit and convention, conditioned in a Pavlovian way, the Soviet citizen "failed to perceive what surrounded him." Confronted by this gap between consciousness and the fact of political revolution, Lef writers defined a practice of art which focused on the transformation of a subjectivity which they saw as alienated and made passive by the continuing dominance of bourgeois social and cultural structures. In doing so, the group synthesized elements of the semiotic model of Russian formalism and Marxism, to produce a theory of art-making that was both overtly political *and* modernist. The Lef group insisted on two key principles: (1) that form, structure, and technique were all ideological and, therefore, that any kind of transformative practice had to be grounded in new systems of rep-



Aleksandr Rodchenko, poster for Dziga Vertov's film *Kino-Glaz* (Film-eye), 1924. Collection Merrill C. Berman

resentation; and (2) that self-definition took place within labor, so that a revolutionary art required productive effort as much in its interpretation as in its making. These writers held Aleksandr Rodchenko up as an exemplar of an artist who fulfilled their mandate, one whose photographic work transformed blindness into sight. Their conviction that Rodchenko's art stood as a model of revolutionary practice lies at the center of my project. How might his work have functioned to produce a new mode of visuality? And how, in turn, could such a mode transform political consciousness? What role did photography play as a medium? And, to what extent did Rodchenko work within the theoretical project defined by Lef?

The first chapter provides an organizational history of the Lef group and a theoretical introduction to their theories of revolutionary art practice. Thereafter, in a series of essays, I focus on specific moments and works within Rodchenko's creative production,

examining them in relation to theoretical concepts and aesthetic issues discussed by the group.

The issues of modern memorialization raised by the death of Vladimir Lenin in 1924 are considered in the second chapter. The efforts of the Commission for the Immortalization of the Memory of V.I. Lenin, charged with the preservation of the leader's body and the regulation of all images of Lenin except photographic, to tie the image of Lenin to a fixed and eternal referent prompted Lef to object in a series of scorchingly ironic editorials. The group issued a call for the preservation of Lenin's "living aspects," and various members experimented with alternative presentations of the leader. In both his writings and creative production, Aleksandr Rodchenko, I argue, turned to an archival model—the collection of primary documents which produced a disjunctive and multivalent biography, and required the viewer to act as biographer. Like other members of the group, Rodchenko refused any essential subject, insisting instead on its infinite multiplicity.

The third chapter concerns Rodchenko's architectural photographs shot from oblique perspectives, and published by Osip Brik in an article entitled "What the Eye Does Not See." Taking a cue from this title, these works can be understood as part of a large Lef project, first articulated by Dziga Vertov, to emancipate the camera from the human body and to establish a distinctly technological mode of vision capable of effecting a new revolutionary subjectivity. Contemporaneous photomontage works by Rodchenko developed a broad concept of monocular vision set in contradistinction to embodied binocular vision (theorizing in pictures) and figured a hybrid machine-man, a spectacularly mobile viewer. In his oblique-angle photographs, I argue that Rodchenko challenged a modern model of subjective vision (such as that described by Jonathan Crary in his book, *Techniques of the Observer*) without seeking a return to earlier models of visuality associated with Albertian perspective. Rather, he used the camera to set perspective against itself, subverting the unidirectional gaze, the certainty of apprehension, and the penetrability of space of the classical episteme.

Beginning with a curious set of found photographs that

Rodchenko published with the caption the "*revarkiv* [the rev(olutionary) archive] of A.R.," in the fourth chapter I look at a project within *Novyi lef* for an alternative model of realism in both literature and the visual arts called *factography*, a mandate for "fixation of fact." In contrast to previous critical conceptions of factography as a transparent mode primarily concerned with the transmission of a message, I argue that it should be understood as a specific concept of document, conceived as a photographic mode: one defined and limited in perspective, imbued with subjectivity, and structurally open. Within this model, the artist (Rodchenko) became a collector of facts and the archive a productive model of history.

Last, I analyze shifts in Lef writing and Rodchenko's work in relation to the critical attacks and the exigencies of the Cultural Revolution under Stalin, and raise the issue of avant-garde collaboration with totalitarian politics. With the dissolution of the Lef group and the formation of the *Oktiabr'* [October] group in 1928 comes a new focus on issues of distribution, mass photo-culture and political efficacy. Three photo-stories by Rodchenko on industrialization complexes created for mass audiences (on the AMO car factory published in *Daesh'* in 1929; on the Vakhtan lumbermill shown at the *Oktiabr'* photo-exhibition in 1931; and on the White Sea Canal published in *USSR in Construction* in 1933) provide evidence of shifting representational strategies in images of labor and models of narrative—from radical fragmentation and a systemic concept of the individual to a new organism and the presentation of the exemplary figure. Redefining for the visual arts a triad of terms (identification, redundancy, and exemplification) developed by Susan Suleiman in her genre study of the French *roman à thèse*, I attempt to theorize a shift from a potentially critical model of art-making which allows for viewer definition of meaning to a monological model which seeks to limit possible alternatives. Each of these chapter-essays considers Rodchenko's efforts to produce a new political subject, setting them in relation to other contemporary theories of transformative art, and exploring the centrality of photography to such projects.

[Columbia University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1993–1996

PAMELA FLETCHER

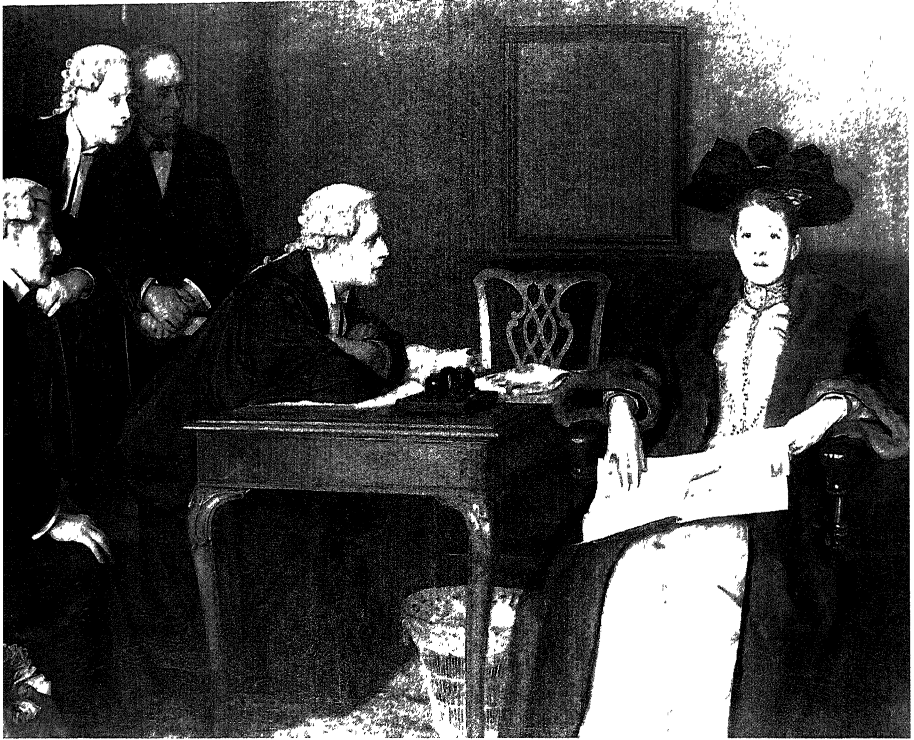
Alternative Narratives of Modernity: The "Problem Picture," 1890–1914

Although almost forgotten today, the problem picture was one of the most anticipated and publicized features of the late Victorian and Edwardian Royal Academy. Often depicting women in suspect situations, these paintings posed morally, as well as narratively, indeterminate "problems," and viewers took up the challenge eagerly, discussing possible "solutions" among friends, in inquiries to the artists, and in newspaper competitions and gossip columns. The periodical press was a crucial component of the phenomenon; in addition to serving as a forum for discussion and providing critical commentary, magazines and newspapers also published reproductions of the paintings, allowing readers from outside London access to the debate. Drawing on the contemporary periodical press as well as unpublished letters and sales records, my dissertation establishes the problem picture as a distinct genre, and argues that in extending the Victorian narrative tradition into the modernist era, problem pictures became one arena in which the contested social and aesthetic values of turn-of-the-century England were negotiated.

During the period of the fellowship I completed the bulk of the research for the dissertation: identifying and locating problem pictures, and surveying reviews of the pictures in a large cross-section of periodicals, including art journals, daily papers, and women's

magazines. This work has allowed me to establish a corpus of twenty-one problem pictures by nine different artists, and to reconstruct the history of the genre. Problem pictures emerged in the 1890s when new modes of reception, growing in part out of the debates surrounding aestheticism, coincided with a shift in British painting from the illustration of literary sources to the invention of anecdotes of modern life. Paintings such as William Frederick Yeames' *Defendant and Counsel* (1895) and Sir Frank Dicksee's *The Confession* (1896) were referred to as enigmatic "puzzle pictures," and viewers and critics speculated on the histories, motives, and futures of the actors in these "psychological dramas." These early problem pictures tended to take marriage of the "woman with a past" as their subjects, and the critical consensus remained conventionally moralizing in tone until 1903, when the huge success of John Collier's *The Prodigal Daughter* inaugurated a new phase in the popularity and range of the problem picture. Although the painting is based on the typical Victorian theme of the fallen woman, Collier's representation of the situation allows for multiple interpretations of the prodigal's circumstances and motivations, and the conflicting readings of the picture and the moral questions it raised earned it an unprecedented amount of press coverage. For the next ten years, the problem picture was one of the most popular features of Academy exhibition, provoking discussions on medical ethics, female gambling, drug use, and stock market speculation. After the Great War, as its challenges to Victorian conventions lost their power to provoke, the genre was edged out of the art world onto the puzzle pages of magazines; but for nearly twenty years the problem picture had presented the large middle-class Academy audience with a public forum for the discussion of social issues and aesthetic standards.

The "problems" presented by these pictures were not the conscience-raising social realist subjects popular in the 1870s. Rather, they tended to focus on the social roles and identities perceived to be under threat as new theories of psychology, suffragettism, and the slow decline of empire gave rise to a rhetoric of degeneration and uncertainty. The instability of gender roles was a particularly potent source of concern, and problem pictures reflect this preoc-



ʾrederick Yeames,
ʾt *and Counsel,*
y of Bristol
and Art Gallery

cupation; in a majority of pictures indeterminacy resides in the figure of the woman. As the viewers invented narratives to explain the pictures, they grappled with definitions of masculinity and femininity, motherhood and fatherhood, and fears of contamination and degeneracy as woman "invaded" the public sphere. Art reviews, gossip columns, published interviews, and private correspondence provide confirmation and extensive documentation of the fact that responses to problem pictures encompassed both "traditional" and oppositional readings, and form the basis for theorizing the particular means by which the discussion of individual problem pictures negotiated the new social terrain of the early twentieth century.

Yet moral dilemmas were not the only "problems" these pictures posed; the structural indeterminacy of the form also called into question viewers' expectations and assumptions about the re-

lationship between the artist, art object, and viewer, as well as the definition and function of art in the modern world. The artists who painted problem pictures had, of course, a variety of motives, including the lure of publicity. My study of the published writings and private papers of John Collier, however, reveals that for the foremost "problem painter" of the time, at least the problem picture was an attempt to combine some "modern" concerns—including the representation of modern life, a focus on pictorial problems, and a certain degree of indeterminacy—with a commitment to art as a social project. Viewers initially read the social and anecdotal content of problem pictures as a cue to use Victorian interpretative strategies; unwilling to speculate, critics complained that "narrative pictures ought to have no ambiguity," and viewers besieged artists with requests for the correct solutions to the pictures. By the early years of the twentieth century, however, viewers had embraced their interpretative authority, no longer looking for the *correct* solution (even when provided by the artists in letters or interviews), but speculating and arguing over the *best* solution.

But the arena in which they claimed this authority was rapidly being pushed to the margins of the art world. Art reviews of the period make increasingly sharp distinction between subject-pictures and art, and between the sensational taste of the "shilling public" of suburban women and the sophisticated appreciation of artists and critics who could distinguish between "the gem and the counterfeit." Problem pictures were invoked as the epitome of degenerate taste (also referred to as "hysterical" and "suburban"), and far from becoming the alternative to purely pictorial modernism its painters had hoped, the problem picture lost all claim to the status of art. Rather than providing a *visual* model for a socially relevant modernism, the problem picture, through the process of its reception, participated in the creation of an *audience* for modern art: an audience defined by dividing the enormous Victorian art public into a select group who were considered qualified (by knowledge, class, or gender) to understand art, and the vast majority who were not.

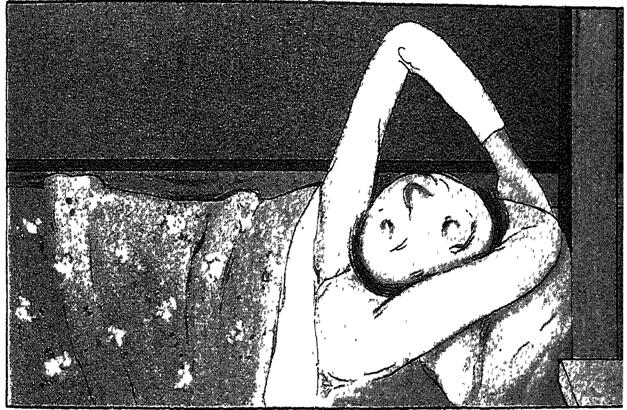
[Columbia University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1995–1996

DARIO GAMBONI

Potential Images: On the Use and Meaning of Visual Ambiguity in the Graphic Arts and Painting around 1900

Ambiguity is inherent in images, and it is generally recognized that visual perception is an active phenomenon involving "imagination" or "projection." By "potential images," however, I propose to designate images (or parts of images) that rely to a particular degree on imaginative response, that foster it and make the viewer conscious of its subjectivity. The best definition that I know was given by Odilon Redon in 1902: "The sense of mystery consists in a continuous ambiguity, in double and triple aspects, hints of aspects (images within images), forms about to exist or existing according to the onlooker's state of mind." This "sense of mystery" was essential to Redon's art. Indeed, from the late 1860s on, he had made a method of the creation of potential images and would remain true to it until his death in 1916. But it also appears that similar aesthetic strategies were employed with increasing frequency during the last decades of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century, and that they played a major role in the challenging of mimetic representation and the reshaping of artistic communication. Cases in point can be found in the work of Paul Cézanne, Paul Gauguin, James Ensor, the Nabis (especially Edouard Vuillard), as well as of lesser-known artists such as Richard Riemerschmid. Their appeal to the spectators' participation also had social and (indirectly) political implications, since it

And now a stealthy robber comes, a slouch-hat on his head.



Here Simon Grimm lies fast asleep, within his cozy bed;

Peter Newell, Double image. From *Topsys & Turveys* (New York, 1902; 1st ed. 1893). Photograph: National Gallery of Art, Washington

tended to give to author and beholder symmetrical, equal, and possibly interchangeable positions. This subversion of representational conventions and this involvement of the viewer's deciphering abilities were then advanced by analytical cubism and the various experiments leading to "abstraction" around 1910–1911. As Jean-Paul Bouillon has recently argued, Vassily Kandinsky consciously established a kind of "double reading" for his pictures, which could be interpreted both in a figurative and in a nonfigurative way. The most radical conclusions were drawn shortly thereafter by Marcel Duchamp, whose "Readymades" conflated the positions of maker and onlooker, and who repeatedly stated that "it is the beholder who makes the picture."

Remarkable analogies relate these artistic pursuits to simultaneous endeavors in other realms of visual and nonvisual culture. In the field of popular images, the turn of the century witnessed the development and success of visual riddles in which children and adults were asked to look for some concealed image, often with the

help of physical manipulation—interestingly, the picture hung on the side or upside-down was a motif used by cartoonists to deride avant-garde experimentations as well as by artists to question representation. In literary practice and theory, the symbolist tenet of *suggestion* similarly rejected straightforward denotation and attempted to make select readers full-fleshed collaborators of the writer. Analyses of verbal and nonverbal languages probed notions of convention and the conditions of semiotic communication. Theories of the unconscious and of the dream image, culminating in Freud's *Traumdeutung* of 1900, saw the "manifest image" as a path leading to a "latent image" and established a fundamental link between perception and desire. This approach was soon extended to the interpretation of art and encouraged the aesthetic evaluation of the "art of the insane." Last but not least, experimental psychological studies popularized the "projective" character of visual perception and paved the way for the Rorschach test (of which experimentation began in 1911).

The term at the Center for Advanced Study was understandably not enough to explore this field in its entirety. On the basis of previously gathered bibliographical elements, I have begun by putting the problem in a broader historical perspective, from the antique and Renaissance notions of the "image made by chance" to Alexander Cozens' late eighteenth-century "blotting" method and to the surrealists' exploitation of "automatic" imaging. Not surprisingly, the period around 1800 appeared to be crucial, and I have paid particular attention to the Romantic antecedents of fin-de-siècle developments. This seemed all the more necessary as direct links can be established between the two moments, such as the first public exhibition of Victor Hugo's drawings in 1888 or the republication in 1890 of Justinus Kerner's *Kleksographien*, an important ancestor of the Rorschach test. Literary theory was approached through the definitions and critique of symbolism gathered by Jules Huret in his 1891 *Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire*. I have also taken advantage of my stay in the United States to examine at first hand works important for my research in the collections of the National Gallery of Art, the Art Institute of Chicago (Redon), and the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Duchamp).

The materials thus collected will now form the basis for a more systematic study of the period 1890–1915. I shall have to probe more deeply into specific sources, intentions, and effects associated with the various uses of potential images; to distinguish between the positions of their users (for example, in relation to the viewer's degree of participation, to the nature of the "hidden" or latent image, or to the issues of representation and abstraction); and to establish as far as possible the links existing between the different realms of knowledge and experience under scrutiny.

Université de Lyon II, Institut Universitaire de France
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1996

CHRISTIAN HECK

The Heavenly Ladder in Western Medieval Art

What can be called the heavenly ladder—these words are not invented by modern scholarship, but are a direct translation of the medieval expression *scala coeli*—is the representation of people climbing a ladder, from earth to heaven. This iconography is not to be confused with Jacob's ladder, which represents the Vision in Bethel, according to Genesis 28. But the heavenly ladder is based on the exegetic tradition that considers Jacob's ladder as a model for humans. As the angels climb the ladder, humans have the possibility of eventually reaching heaven.

The heavenly ladder is an archetypal image, as Mircea Eliade, for example, presents it. We find the idea, and the image, in many different periods and civilizations. To simply identify the image is insufficient; understanding is needed in the differences in these renderings, in order to avoid generalizations.

The medieval iconography of the heavenly ladder in Byzantine art has been closely studied by John Rupert Martin in *The Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*. In Western medieval art, the heavenly ladder appears in the iconography of the Vision of Saint Perpetua, in the fourth century and is then associated with the glorious death of the martyr. In the sixth century, Saint Benedict, in chapter seven of his *Rule*, gives the heavenly ladder a central place in Benedictine monastic spirituality, which cul-

minated in the works of the twelfth century. In the same period Saint Bernard gives a new resonance to the theme.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the heavenly ladder is associated with moral quest, and was used as a theme by preachers, particularly among the mendicant orders. It included the steps of penance. It also finds a place in feminine mysticism, such as Saint Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Siena. It appears, too, in lay spirituality, including the *Voie de Paradis*, the *Welsche Gast*, the *Roman de Fauvel*, Dante (*Paradise*, cantos 21–22), Guillaume de Digulleville, Christine de Pisan, and the *Montagne de contemplation* by Jean Gerson. The climbing of the ladder is no longer a theme reserved for the clergy. Fifteenth-century art gives new expression to the theme, both in Italian and in Northern art.

The heavenly ladder appears not to be a naive image, but the expression of clearly articulated ideas in three areas of thought. The first meaning of the ladder is a cosmology that takes the form of a hierarchical conception of the world, a structure in which the occupants hold fixed situations. According to the notions reaffirmed from Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite to Saint Bonaventura, it is only because the universe itself is a ladder that ascent and descent are possible.

The heavenly ladder is also the expression of what I call a spiritual topography, rooted in theology and mysticism. Such is the second meaning of the ladder, a structure wherein the occupants are mobile. God and the angels have the power to freely ascend and descend, whereas humans must strive to take their place on different levels in this cosmology.

Last, the heavenly ladder expresses an anthropology. It describes a repertory of fundamental attitudes, like being upright, bent, or straightening up, which refer to a theological and moral situation in the cosmos. Saint Benedict's call to "straighten the ladder" is equivalent to the return to the inner rectitude preached by Saint Bernard, in order to retrieve the posture attributed to Man by God, and lost since the Fall.

The aim of the fellowship was to finish my book, *The Heavenly Ladder in Western Medieval Art* (to be published by Flammarion in 1997, in the series Idées et Recherches). I worked partly on bib-

liographical complements, partly on some chapters which show how the ladder contributes to a system of images, including models, antimodels, sacred topography, and religious architecture. As models, or exemplary images, Christ, or the Virgin, or several saints are shown climbing ladders, and these exemplary ascents prove to humans that such movement is possible. In the case of Christ, it is fundamental, as his incarnation and his ascent on the cross reopened the path that had been closed by the Fall. As antimodels, a series of false ascensions are very often represented in opposition to "good" ascensions; for example, the Tower of Babel in competition with God's own ladder, or the flight and fall of Simon the Magus, or the fall of Ochozias in opposition to the ladder of humility. Ladder symbolism is also present in sacred topography and religious architecture: the medieval liturgy of the consecration of churches quotes Jacob's dream, and the stone of the altar is the repetition of the stone of Bethel. The vision of the ladder is considered as the sign or confirmation of the sacredness of a place.

The heavenly ladder continues to exist in Western thought and art from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, but its strong differences, as early as in the treatise of Molanus in the second half of the sixteenth century, confirm the specificity of its medieval formulas. The comprehension of the concept is different; continuity exists, but it is not the same as in the medieval period.

As is shown by the study of the symbolic ladder in late antiquity, the iconography of the heavenly ladder in medieval art is the reinterpretation of an essential neoplatonic concept, but in a very specific way: this theme is inscribed, in the Middle Ages, in a history of the world, including the Fall as the loss of the original abode and Christ's Incarnation as the reestablishment of an enabling link for the return.

Université de Strasbourg
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996

JULIA O. KAGAN

Glyptic Art in Britain

The objective of my project is the revision of a monograph on glyptic art in Britain. This 1984 unpublished work was the first investigation of the art of gem engraving in England. Lack of attention to this subject has been due to the small number of English glyptic items in museums in Great Britain and other European countries. The situation is changing, however, as the London Society of Jewellery Historians now includes glyptics in its range of interests. New studies by Martin Henig, Diana Scarisbrick, Gertrud Seidmann, and others also have contributed to our understanding of this body of material. The fellowship made possible study of these recent works, which are unavailable in Russia, and of related publications on numismatics, seals, jewels, glass pastes, and ceramics.

In my project special attention is paid to the engraved gems of the English school now in the collection of the Hermitage: three hundred cameos and intaglios created by English gem engravers, the largest collection of the kind in the world. It was formed over two centuries, with the major sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pieces purchased during the reign of Catherine the Great, including portrait cameos of Elizabeth I, Charles I, Cromwell (the last two believed to be carved by Thomas Rawlins and Thomas Simon), and several so-called Lesser George cameos, representing Saint George with a dragon, which were used as insignias of the



ı 1. Tudor,
.80, cameo portrait.
rmıtage Museum,
:ersburg

Order of the Garter. The Hermitage collection includes the works of London carvers William and Charles Brown, Edward Burch, Nathaniel Marchant, Richard Yeo, William Harrıs, Thomas Bragg, Robert Priddle, William and Thomas Pownell, and Luigi Isler. About 1,500 English gems are reproduced in James Tassie's set of impressions, ordered by Catherine II for the Hermitage Museum.

My research is based on state archive documents (particularly financial records of the Russian court) and on manuscripts and drawings by Lorenz Natter, a famous stone carver, medalist, and theorist of glyptic art who spent seventeen years in London, but died in Saint Petersburg in 1763. Data are also found in treatises and etching books of the seventeenth to nineteenth century, art and historic literature, memoirs, letters, encyclopedic dictionaries, and other reference works.

It has been possible to trace the development of glyptic art in Britain, and changes in the form and function of carved stones are

considered in relation to social conditions, religious atmosphere, culture, and art. The British corpus is also examined in light of the development of European glyptic art, in order to identify the "Englishness" of these gems.

The first uncontested examples of British glyptic art are known from the thirteenth century, but it is possible that the roots of the tradition lie deeper, in Roman Britain. The high level of production achieved in the sixteenth century continued through the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century vigorous activity is known through hundreds of first-rate examples and the names of dozens of artists, some of them well known abroad. As a supplement to the monograph, I compiled a catalogue of English gems in the Hermitage collection.

My two months spent working in the library of the National Gallery of Art and at the Library of Congress helped me to complete the project, providing new information and a deeper interpretive cast to the monograph and catalogue. Especially important was the cooperation of sculptor-glyptographer and gemologist Helen Serra, who combines practice of glyptic traditions in the United States with study of their history. Our close collaboration has led me to a better understanding of the chronology of glyptic art and artists in Britain.

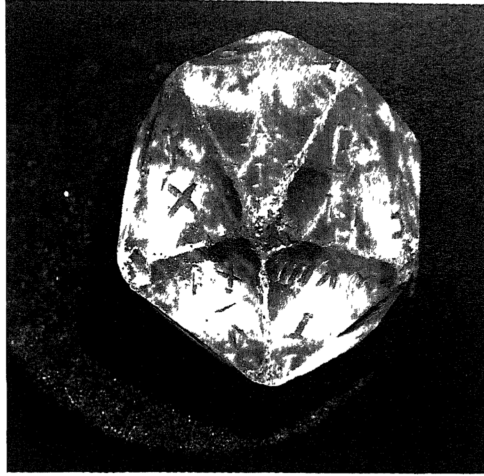
State Hermitage Museum
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1995

GENEVRA KORNBLUTH

Continuity and Conversion: Uses of Gemstone in Merovingian Gaul

Gemstones, brilliant jewels valued by nearly all societies, were among the major artistic media of antiquity and the Middle Ages. Seen by medieval viewers as both protective amulets and signs of a divinely enacted order, they occupy a revealing place in one of the least-understood eras of European history: the fifth to eighth centuries, the critical time of transformation from late antique into medieval culture and from "pagan" to Christian society.

During my two-month fellowship, I have examined this conversion in view of new evidence from art history, with particular reference to gemstone sculpture. It has long been held that unlike their predecessors and followers, the Merovingians did not produce significant glyptic art. I can now attribute to the Merovingian artisans of northern Europe gemstone polyhedra, artificial rock crystal (quartz) shells, and perhaps ring-stones engraved with mythological figures. Evidence for this attribution is mostly archaeological. The artificial shells, for example, have previously been classified as Roman playing pieces. But true playing pieces found in sets with game boards, though made in many different shapes including shells, are almost invariably flat on one side (so that they stay put on the board), and they are normally marked with numbers. The unnumbered gemstone shells (from clams to conchs) are fully three-dimensional, naturalistic versions of sea life



Twenty-sided rock crystal die, probably fourth to sixth century. Musée du Louvre, Paris. Author photograph

quite unlike playing pieces. Alemannic burials in the area of modern Switzerland have yielded similar shells mounted as pendants, worn among bear claws, pierced coins, hollow capsules, and other protective amulets. Like these other objects, the gemstone shells probably also served as protective devices, and were made for Merovingian patrons. Belief in the powers of their stones, well attested in Roman literature (which held that amethyst, for example, could protect its bearer from drunkenness and poison), appears to have survived the transition to a Christian society.

Reattribution of the shell "playing pieces" shows that glyptic art was not dead in early medieval northern Europe. It also tells us something about the process of conversion. Amulets were condemned by later medieval church leaders as pagan magic, but they were clearly not so regarded by many earlier Christians. Gemstone amulets further prove that such beliefs were not confined to the poor and uneducated, since such stones could be purchased only by the most wealthy members of society. This art-historical evidence provides an essential corrective to the dogmatic texts (sermons and canon law) that have been the basis for most previous studies of European conversion.

Archaeology provides some evidence of how gemstone objects were used. Additional information is yielded by inscriptions.

Oracular texts, for example, were inscribed in public places in many late Roman cities. To get the gods' advice on general problems (such questions as, "Should I undertake a new business venture?"), the passerby randomly selected a number or letter, then sought the answer corresponding to that choice on the inscribed table. Random selection allowed for intervention of the gods, and so ensured a correct answer. For some oracles stone polyhedra of up to twenty-four sides, each side marked with a number or letter, were used as random number/letter generators. Oracles were later condemned by church officials as un-Christian. I have found evidence, however, that this same type of divination (using numbered lists of answers) continued into at least the sixth century. It is likely that some of the surviving polyhedra, particularly gemstone versions with Latin lettering and numeration, were used for Merovingian oracles. This tells us that early prohibitions by church leaders were ineffective, and that perhaps not all leaders agreed that divination should be banned.

The polyhedra also suggest that geometric shape was itself meaningful to Merovingian users of gemstones. As work continues on this project, I am studying the significance of the geometrically regular rock crystal spheres and large faceted spindle-whorls also found in burials of the period. The spheres appear to have had purely symbolic or magical functions. The spindle-whorls are luxury versions of practical objects used to weigh down and twist wool during spinning. Production of these objects out of stone both confirms my attribution of the crystal shells and suggests wide acceptance of gemstones' magically protective powers. Since both spheres and spindle-whorls have been found in female and not male burials, they also suggest gendered differences in the way stones were used. It is these aspects of Merovingian culture that I am now exploring.

Youngstown State University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1996

FREDERICK LAMP

Art of the Baga: A Drama of Cultural Reinvention

Since the late fifteenth century, the Baga, who live on the marsh islands of the coast of the Republic of Guinea, West Africa, have been known to European travelers, though mostly by hearsay. On the basis of rare personal glimpses of the Baga by missionaries, merchants, colonial emissaries, and other Africans, the Baga traditionally have been associated with mystique, inaccessibility, defiance, and the spectacle of their art. In the twentieth century, with Baga sculpture entering European collections, the attention of Western artists was drawn to certain forms such as the colossal wooden headdress known as Nimba and the various shrine figures and headdresses based on the avian form. Only in the 1950s was brief, exploratory research conducted by Denise Paulme, and abandoned because of the intense secrecy surrounding all Baga ritual and the use of their arts. In 1985, my fieldwork among the Baga began, leading to the current work on a monograph and an exhibition.

Baga history resounds with the aggression by larger and politically more powerful groups inland, who have stimulated a number of crises and cultural watersheds among the Baga. According to oral tradition, in an attempt to resist conversion to Islam, probably before the fourteenth century, the Baga migrated from the mountainous interior to the coast, carrying with them their most



ıce of Nımba, performed
he Baga, Sıtemu subgroup,
7, Guınea, West Afrıca.
hor photograph

revered spırıts, represented in towering masquerades. Once on the coast, the Baga claimed to have "invented" or "dıscovered" spiritual beıngs and spiritual "ideas," and manifested them ın spectacular and monumental forms of art. These spıritual conceptions inform their socıal organızation today. Through the twentieth

century, the Baga have been invaded by immigrant groups, both European and African, introducing new language, new political structure, new art markets, and the competitive forces of Islam and Christianity. The French colonial demand for authentic art objects nearly denuded Baga ritual of its visual wealth. In 1956–1957, the Baga were brutally forced to convert, en masse, to Islam; from 1960, practice of indigenous religious traditions was declared illegal and punishable by law by the precarious new Marxist-Islamic state. Since 1984, under new government, some aspects of pre-Islamic Baga culture have resurfaced, including the production of monumental masks. Aged clan leaders, divulging little to the youth, nevertheless possess some ritual material that they maintain and guard, engaging in private ritual, in alienation from their society, while the youth, now educated in the Western tradition, entertain a nostalgia for the past. This presents fascinating issues of cultural property, educational philosophy, ritual secrecy, and cultural renaissance.

The fellowship has enabled me to begin and complete the monograph, in twelve chapters, divided into four sections. The first section is an introduction to the history of exposure to the Baga through early European sources, modern artists of the West, and recent research. The second explores the oral tradition, the testimony of the Baga on their origins, the artistic manifestations they trace to primordial beginnings, and the use of art in the creation of social identity. Here I accept the premise of migration as the basis of the structure of life cycles and the art objects that mark the steps of passage. The third examines the establishment of a new society and new artistic forms drawing from either settlement on the coast, or from a reevaluation of Baga identity following the crisis they express as migration. The fourth covers the twentieth century, beginning with the impact of colonialism, and corollary influences resulting from indigenous movements, with new masquerades invented by the youth. Much of this artistic activity occurred in defiance of the elders, but often with the appropriation of their forms. This section concludes with the final watershed, the mass conversion to Islam, the appropriation of Baga arts by a new and oppressive national government in the late 1950s, and the dilemma

of the Baga of all ages today facing new freedoms, new priorities, but with a longing for the beauty of things lost.

The central theme of the study is art as personal and societal response to political change. Throughout their history, the Baga have shown remarkable resilience in responding to unfavorable situations beyond their control. The drama of this history leads to questions having to do with artistic creation and re-creation. One of the most fascinating examples of this is the pervasive evidence that the Baga view their spiritual world as a cultural artifact, a world created by human beings—an anthropocentric view. This raises the issue of the role of the artist, as creator, to act as an agent of change. Another issue is the role of generational tension in facilitating the flexible Baga response to crises. An age-grade society, the Baga continually confront the authority of status and challenge accepted configurations. Children create their own ritual societies, and invent their own masquerades, "sacred things," some of which defy the most forbidden conventions. The monograph addresses also the role and responsibilities of the researcher in relation to the society studied. My work with the Baga has been most unusual because of the way Baga have interacted with me in the research process and the way my work, in turn, has become pressed into the service of their social agenda toward a Baga cultural (and by corollary, political) renaissance.

In the monograph, I give the Baga first right of parol, presenting the direct testimony of now-elderly Baga reformers of midcentury, of young, educated Baga, of the children, and of aged savants, Baga writers, educators, artists, performers, and spokespersons. The premise is that the Baga history of art can best be understood in the context of the various realities that the Baga themselves have constructed. Analysis of Baga viewpoints draws upon the testimony of colonial administrators, anthropologists, merchants, and missionaries, and the current work of an English historian, a Guinean ethnohistorian, and my own art-historical fieldwork. In the dialogue between Baga and outsider, the opportunity is offered to critically examine the nature of sources.

Baltimore Museum of Art
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1995–1996

RÉJEAN LEGAULT

L'Appareil de l'Architecture Moderne: New Materials and Architectural Modernity in France (1889–1934)

Most historical accounts of twentieth-century architecture have recurrently insisted on the crucial role played by new building materials in the birth of modernism. This interpretation is upheld in discussion of French architecture, where the emergence of modernism is commonly associated with the use of a specific material: reinforced concrete. Projects such as Auguste Perret's apartment building at 25 bis rue Franklin in Paris (1903–1904), Tony Garnier's project for a *Cité industrielle* (1901–1904), and Le Corbusier's Dom-ino house (1914–1916), are presented as icons of an emerging modernity linked by their ambitious use of concrete. Exploring this historiographic assumption, my dissertation is a study of the role played by new building materials in the formation of architectural modernism in France. It is based on the premise that a material is not a technical given—a well-defined entity in the physical and linguistic sense—but an architectural construct. I argue that the role played by a material embraces at once issues of doctrine, culture, and ideology. The study covers a broad period, from the 1889 Universal Exhibition to the early 1930s, that corresponds to the development of reinforced concrete in French architecture, from its emergence within architectural discourse to its inscription in early modernist historiography.

Completed before the beginning of the fellowship, the first part

of the dissertation concerns the period 1889–1919. The first chapter (1889–1900) shows how the emergence of reinforced concrete led to the demise of iron as the leading material in architectural theory, giving rise to arguments about the visibility and concealment of materials in architecture. The second chapter (1900–1914) examines the use of the new material in Parisian architecture. Special attention is paid to the debate on the relation between the wall, the frame, and the revetment. The third chapter (1914–1919) examines how the industrial model put forth during the war and reconstruction triggered revision of ideas about construction in terms of both process and aesthetic.

The fellowship was devoted to completion of the second half of the dissertation. Centered on the development of French modernism in the 1920s, these chapters explore the historiographic assumption that construed reinforced concrete as the common denominator of the new architecture. The first example concerns the modern house. By 1924, the formal characteristics of the new architecture had been enshrined in the type of the undecorated cubic house in reinforced concrete. This formal definition was largely the result of projects, presented in the form of drawings and architectural models, at the various architectural exhibitions between 1922 and 1924. It was further enhanced by a reading of the new architecture in light of the contemporary critical discourse on cubism. Symptomatic of this abstraction of technique was the assimilation of the architect's building materials to the pigments of the painter, the clay of the sculptor, the *matière* of the artist. With the exception of Le Corbusier, French modern architects were seldom involved in the technical investigation of new materials. Focusing on works of André Lurçat, Robert Mallet-Stevens, and Le Corbusier executed between 1924 and 1927, I further examine the relation between the construction and the form of the modern house. The study shows that full-fledged, autonomous concrete skeletons were seldom used, being replaced by a mixed structural system that combined reinforced concrete elements with load-bearing masonry construction. More important, major differences are revealed in the conception and role of the concrete frame itself. While Le Corbusier conceived the modern house with the frame in mind, Mallet-Stevens

approached the frame as an alternative system to be inserted within the masonry structure. These differences are not solely technical, for they provide clues about the conceptual process and about the sources of the aesthetic project itself. With Lurçat and Mallet-Stevens, the tectonic potential of the concrete frame develops within the realm of the stereotomic tradition. With Le Corbusier, the frame is exploited to subvert the visual conventions of masonry architecture.

The fallacy of the common denominator is further challenged through the examination of the theories and works of Auguste Perret and Le Corbusier. During the 1920s, Perret tirelessly explored the tectonic potential of the concrete frame, guided by the rationalist concern for the relation between structure and ornament. This search was coupled with a doctrinal belief that posited reinforced concrete as the sole modern material. Presented as the true *architecture du béton armé*, Perret's works attempted to bridge the modernization of construction and French architectural tradition, a project that led to the reconception of reinforced concrete as modern stone. It echoed the contemporary vision of reinforced concrete as *l'appareil de l'architecture moderne*, a preindustrial conception that saw the material as a means by which to achieve the synthesis of structure, mode of assembly, and external appearance. Defending the principles of constructional truth and material visibility, Perret merged a rationalist conception of structure with a Ruskinian idea of material. It is on this basis that he and his circle condemned the new French architecture for its deceptive use of concrete, fostering a cultural project opposed to the internationalism of the emerging modern movement.

Le Corbusier was also engaged in architectural research based on the exploitation of reinforced concrete. Interested in the industrialization of construction, he approached the concrete frame as a means to change the building process itself. Taking the frame as the basic generative structure of the building, Le Corbusier came to conceive the house as a system that merged the constructional with the formal. Synthesized in the *Five Points*, this system led the way to overcoming the conventions of structural rationalism. The principles took precedence over the material itself, encouraging a shift to use of the metal frame and the realization of the *maison à*

sec. This relativism was soon to be revealed through a new interest in the texture of materials, a critical response to the contemporary discourse on structural and material truth.

These fundamental oppositions within French architectural culture were strategically concealed by early retrospective readings of the origin of French modernism. Among these readings, Sigfried Giedion's *Bauen in Frankreich, Bauen in Eisen, Bauen in Eisenbeton* (1928) is a case in point. First conceived as an essay on the new French architecture, Giedion's book became a study of the sources of French modernism. Focusing on construction viewed as a national constant, he insisted on the continuity between nineteenth-century iron buildings and twentieth-century reinforced concrete architecture. Largely indebted to the contemporary writings of French architects and critics, this interpretation left in the dark the prewar debates on the problematic status of the new material. Positing reinforced concrete as the common denominator of French modernism, Giedion further insisted on the direct descent from Perret to Le Corbusier, concealing the radical divergences in their conception and use of building materials. As such, he contributed both to highlighting and obscuring the technical and ideological role of materials in the construction of French modernism.

[Massachusetts Institute of Technology]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1995–1996

IRA MARK

Craft and Philosophical Aesthetics in Antiquity: The Case of Vitruvius

In an essay on the work of Helen Frankenthaler for the *Nation* (21–29 August 1989), Arthur Danto had occasion to recall one of Françoise Gilot's anecdotes on Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque. Picasso had joined Braque at his studio and was looking at a still life—a package of tobacco, a pipe, and other common objects—and suddenly among the facets he saw a squirrel. "Yes, I know," Picasso said. "It's a paranoiac vision, but it just so happens that I *see* a squirrel."

> "That painting is made to be a painting, not an optical illusion. Since people need to see something in it, you want them to see a package of tobacco, a pipe, and the other things you're putting in. But for God's sake get rid of that squirrel." Braque stepped back a few feet and looked carefully and sure enough, he too saw a squirrel, because that type of paranoiac vision is extremely communicable. (Françoise Gilot and Carlton Lake, *Life with Picasso*, New York, 1964, 76)

The term "paranoiac vision" is a heavy club to apply to some major works of scholarship on the design theory of Vitruvius, but when I happened to be reading Danto's essay, collected in *Embodied Meanings* (New York, 1994), I was struck by how well it fit.

The aesthetic theory of Vitruvius takes three main forms. First, Vitruvius relates the proportions of buildings to the human figure (especially in *De architectura* 3.1.1–9). Second, he enumerates the

established ground plans of temples and prescribes arithmetic proportions for the proper spacing of columns and for the proper design of architectural elements such as bases, capitals, and architraves (above all in books 3 and 4). And third, in several brief paragraphs he gives general principles for architectural design (1.2.1–9). My work this year has been centered on the third of these, specifically the relation between Vitruvius' general principles of design and ancient rhetorical theory.

For a practicing architect, Vitruvius was surprisingly well read in the liberal arts, and in rhetoric in particular. He cites Cicero's *De oratore* in a context that suggests he knew the work well (9.preface 17) and gives numerous indirect indications that he had access to other rhetorical works, presumably most from the nascent Latin tradition of the earlier first century B.C., but possibly also some in Greek.

Where the sources that Vitruvius draws on survive, one can gain a first-hand picture of the scholar-architect at work, noting what ideas attract him, and how he transforms and reshapes them to an architectural context. Reconstructing his lost sources, in contrast, is something of an exercise in cubist vision, the discrimination of pipes and the avoidance of squirrels.

Vitruvius sees architecture as having six constituents: *ordinatio*, *dispositio*, *decor*, *eurhythmia*, *symmetria*, and *distributio*. His definitions of these terms are often shifting and difficult to follow, but they appear to betray four underlying, largely independent concerns. The first, centered on the terms *ordinatio* and *symmetria*, is directed toward what one may call commensurate design, design by arithmetic ratios using a module. The second, centered on the terms *dispositio* and *eurhythmia*, addresses the need to preserve elegance and grace. It is generally compatible with commensurate design but requires that proportions be adjusted according to the intuitive judgment of the architect. The third concern, *decor*, requires a respect for tradition and propriety. And the fourth, *distributio*, concerns the appropriateness of the planning and execution to such practical constraints as climate, natural exposure, budget, and the social station of the client.

Three of these terms occur prominently in late republican and

early imperial treatises on rhetoric: *dispositio*, *decor*, and *distributio*, and there is a long thread of scholarship on the question of how these and Vitruvius' remaining key terms relate to the rhetorical tradition.

My research points away from an often-stated view that Vitruvius is drawing on one lost source, a source that analyzed the practice of architecture into categories closely parallel to those of rhetoric. Rather, his theory appears to bring together several largely independent intellectual traditions. He draws some key terms and concepts from Greek architectural treatises, transliterating terms into Latin but without change in meaning. His dependence on rhetorical treatises is decidedly freer. On extant evidence it is impossible to say whether rhetorical concepts had already entered the architectural tradition before he wrote. Even if that were the case, however, it is clear that he himself strengthened and expanded the tie.

This research reinforces a growing scholarly consensus that *De architectura* is not a simple Romanizing of the Greek tradition of architectural treatises. It is the work of a highly individual and inquiring mind. To achieve a mastery of architectural theory, Vitruvius states, one needed a liberal education. Theory, and the education on which it was based, gave the architect *auctoritas*; it raised him above the typical craftsman. It is just such professional pretensions that led Vitruvius to address his writings to the Emperor Augustus and to hope that a wealthy public, increasingly drawn to architecture as a subject for amateur study, would take an interest in his work.

New York City
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1995–1996

ABBY MCGEHEE

The Parish Church of Saint Gervais-Saint Protais: Parisian Late Gothic in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

Built between about 1494 and 1623, the parish church of Saint Gervais-Saint Protais is arguably one of the most important late Gothic monuments to survive in Paris. It is one of the most coherent and best preserved articulations of Parisian Flamboyant religious architecture, for it escaped extensive wartime damage and zealous restorations. Located near the historic Place de Grève, the parish of Saint Gervais stood in the commercial and administrative heart of the medieval city. In the sixteenth century, the parish was home to an increasing number of well-to-do merchants as well as royal and municipal officers. It was this elite group of parishioners who initiated the rebuilding of Saint Gervais and were responsible for the majority of its funding. A wealth of notarial documents—including contracts, testaments, and foundations—in addition to other primary materials allows a reconstruction of the social, religious, and economic values that conditioned the reconstruction of Saint Gervais.

Until recently, French late Gothic architecture has received only cursory study. Following the work of Stephen Murray, Linda Neagley, Roland Sanfçon and others, my dissertation participates in a larger reassessment of Flamboyant architecture. Far from Johan Huizinga's model of decline, late Gothic architecture evinced a remarkable willingness for experimentation, combining



Choir of Saint Gervais-Saint Protais, Paris, 1494–1540. Author photograph

a historicist appreciation for its antecedents with an equal estimation for the novel. Rather than conceiving of late Gothic as the decadent and incoherent end of the Gothic tradition, swept away by the regenerative flood of the Renaissance, I have attempted to reexamine this architecture as a representation of the professional and cultural values of its builders and patrons. As a Gothic monument with a classical façade, Saint Gervais raises important questions about contemporary attitudes toward architectural idioms, stylistic continuity, and self-definition.

During my residency at the Center, I completed the draft of the dissertation, which focuses on the chronology of construction, the

urban history of the parish, the role of the church in its communal setting, and the contributions of builders and patrons. In the past, monographic architectural studies have tended to treat their subjects, explicitly or implicitly, from a point of view that privileged either the architect's concerns or those of the patrons. Those studies interested in the former address questions of chronology, technique, and artistic intentionality, while in the latter case programmatic and ideologic issues form the central concerns. In the case of Saint Gervais, these social roles and critical distinctions become blurred.

Although it was not the masons' parish per se, Saint Gervais did claim several important builders as parishioners, among them, the Chambiges family. Martin Chambiges, perhaps the most renowned architect of his day, lived in the parish when in Paris. Chambiges' parents were buried in Saint Gervais as was his son Pierre, who was laid to rest in the crossing along with his wife, his daughter, and his son-in-law. Evidence suggests that Martin Chambiges may have originally intended to have been buried here as well.

While I do not include Saint Gervais in the Chambiges corpus for a variety of chronological and stylistic reasons, several features of the plan and elevation suggest an author intimately familiar with Chambiges' workshops in Beauvais and Troyes. In particular, the polygonal chapels of the east end of Saint Gervais demonstrate a decisive break from the semicircular chevets found in other Parisian churches of this date. For these reasons, Saint Gervais celebrates the masons' craft with a specificity of reference that undoubtedly exists in many other buildings, but has remained imperceptible.

Both Martin and Pierre appear in advisory capacities during the church's construction. Their role is best described as that of influential and expert patrons whose architectural vision might be translated directly through technical fluency. As builders who were also patrons, the Chambiges and their brethren must have perceived Saint Gervais as a monument to both their civic and professional identities. An attuned and educated audience for their work also might have been expected by these builder-patrons, because their project stood near the ports where stone and wood to

be used in construction arrived. Contractors, masons, and stone cutters congregated in the Place de Grève and around Saint Gervais to hire workers or seek work. In this respect, Saint Gervais represented a center for artisanal values in addition to devotional ones.

Other professional and political identities were at play in the parish as well. Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the supervision and patronage of the church fell to a small group of parish elites who served as the wardens and principal benefactors of Saint Gervais. These families possessed all but one of the private chapels, donated the windows, and made decisions concerning the appearance of the church.

Through the practice of endogamy and nepotism, these same Parisian families were able to rise from successful merchants to prestigious positions in the king's government. As the administrative center of the kingdom, Paris enjoyed an association with the monarchy that provided very tangible privileges with regard to taxation and ennoblement. The institutional and political designation of Parisian identity had an artistic parallel as the *haute bourgeoisie* became the most important architectural patrons in the capital. The scale, ornamentation, and monumental features of Saint Gervais expressed the patrons' desire to mark their place in the Parisian landscape and construct an image of Parisian identity. In many contemporary churches, for example, the ground plan of the cathedral of Notre-Dame was reinterpreted as an iconic image of the capital's ecclesiastic, monarchic, and communal past—a past that resonated with the favored status granted the city and its inhabitants by a long line of bishops and kings. But by claiming the city's most recognizable symbol for themselves, the elite patrons of Paris simultaneously insisted on their enduring and fundamental role in the matrix of hierarchies and associations that made Paris both the center of the kingdom and a kingdom unto itself. At Saint Gervais, the compromise between the semicircular aspect of the cathedral ground plan and the polygonal chapels illustrates the complex negotiations between builders and patrons on every level of their interaction.

[University of California, Berkeley]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1993–1996

GUSTAVO L. MORÉ

Manual bibliográfico sobre la arquitectura y el urbanismo en la historia del Gran Caribe 1492–1995

La posibilidad de definir la existencia de una condición caribeña común a los territorios de la región, a través de estudios académicos, ha motivado en los últimos años la implementación de varios proyectos, tales como el Plan CARIMOS para la Conservación de los Monumentos y Sitios del Gran Caribe, programa dentro del cual se inscribe este trabajo bibliográfico. Este propósito obedece a una lectura cada vez más precisa de esa realidad, forjada a medida que se van desarrollando estudios comparativos entre los variados grupos de familiaridad cultural que componen el territorio.

Se trata de poner en perspectiva una zona que abarca al archipiélago antillano, también conocido como "the West Indies," y a todos aquellos países en contacto con el Golfo de México y con las aguas del Mar Caribe, delineando un arco que fluye desde los predios atlánticos de la Florida hasta las Guyanas. El común denominador a todos es sin duda el escenario de una historia y de una geopolítica compartida, iniciada para nuestros fines desde la epopeya colombina. Solo así es posible concebir que tan diversas expresiones culturales puedan compartir un fenómeno de índole estético como es la determinación de la forma y del espacio.

Si exceptuamos el extraordinario caso de México y de los territorios centroamericanos, donde floreció una cultura precolombina

con características arquitectónicas y urbanísticas bien desarrolladas, es posible afirmar que la región no poseía rasgos de un proceder edilicio permanente. Esto facilitó la introducción de esquemas absolutamente ajenos a la realidad de las islas, derivados de sus precedentes europeos. Así, el Gran Caribe, tantas veces llamado la "Frontera Imperial," recibe las más variadas influencias: españolas, inglesas, francesas, holandesas, danesas, norteamericanas; hoy, no escapa a los alcances de un mundo cada vez más comunicado. Argumento, sin embargo, que la recepción de estas influencias siempre ha estado condicionada a una especie de crisol que amalgama y transforma, en vez de asumir con total fidelidad, los patrones que llegan a nuestras sociedades periféricas. Esta singularidad ha determinado un vigoroso eclecticismo que es posible detectar en muy diversos momentos de la historia de las formas arquitectónicas, íntimamente ligadas a los destinos de éstas culturas mestizas e inclusivistas.

Sobre tales bases se estableció un sistema de recolección de datos que permite la debida clasificación y anotación de un catálogo—en proceso—de más de 8,000 entradas. En principio debe entenderse que la producción de literatura especializada en torno a la arquitectura de la región es más bien pobre. El archipiélago antillano sufre además, de una condición de "marginado entre marginados," ya que incluso los estudios internacionales que cubren la arquitectura latinoamericana, de por sí escasísimos, por lo general excluyen la mención de la arquitectura de las islas. Esta particular ausencia de la arquitectura de la región en los recuentos panorámicos es acentuada por el difícil acceso a un territorio tan fragmentado geográfica y culturalmente. El limitado mercado y la fragilidad de las economías locales, impiden el desarrollo de una industria editorial sólida.

Los documentos de primera mano relativos a las colonias, han de encontrarse en los archivos imperiales respectivos, si bien los más relevantes han sido en su mayoría publicados en recopilaciones tales como las de Diego Angulo Iñiguez sobre los territorios hispánicos de ultramar (1939). Solo aquellos países de "Tierra Firme" como México, Colombia, Venezuela y los Estados Unidos de América han logrado mantener una producción copiosa y es-

table, que cubre aspectos tanto del pasado colonial como de la contemporaneidad. Tempranamente dedicada a los quehaceres editoriales, Cuba marchó a la cabeza de República Dominicana, Puerto Rico, Panamá y Costa Rica. Algunos estudios importantes de confección erudita, han sido dedicados a las islas de las Antillas Menores, notablemente a las de procedencia holandesa. En este sentido, es valioso identificar una serie de autores especializados en cada uno de sus respectivos escenarios: a principios de siglo Martín Noel y Mario J. Buschiazzo, inician desde la Argentina un movimiento de estudios americanistas de singular proyección continental, organizado en pos de la consecución de una arquitectura de clara identidad iberoamericana. Manuel Toussaint desde México, Carlos Arbeláez Camacho desde Colombia, Graziano Gasparini desde Venezuela, Joaquín Weiss y Sánchez, Erwin Walter Palm desde República Dominicana, C. F. Temminck-Groll desde el Caribe Holandés, David Buisseret desde el Caribe Inglés: todo un selecto grupo de expertos—aquí listados parcialmente—producen obras de importancia capital en el estudio de la arquitectura histórica de sus respectivos países.

Gran parte del material recogido resulta de los índices efectuados en publicaciones periódicas. Las mismas han desempeñado un rol fundamental, ya que cubren con sus perspectivas generalizadas la ausencia de monografías de mayor profundidad. Vale destacar en este sumario solo algunas: Cuba inicia desde el siglo pasado (1889) la publicación de una revista que eventualmente se convierte en *Arquitectura*, editada por el Colegio Nacional de Arquitectos desde 1926 hasta 1959, que cambia de nombre y de orientación editorial en 1960, a raíz del advenimiento de la revolución cubana (*Arquitectura Cuba*); Colombia produce *Proa* desde 1946—hoy órgano de la Sociedad Colombiana de Arquitectos—y *Escala* desde los sesentas, dedicados a la teoría y a la presentación de temas contemporáneos. Otras como *Apuntes*, cubren el pasado colonial; la Facultad de Arquitectura de la Universidad Central de Venezuela inicia en 1962 *Punto*, y desde el Centro de Investigaciones Históricas y Estéticas produce el *Boletín del C.I.H.E.*; México ha hecho esfuerzos editoriales notabilisísimos: los *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, la revista *Arquitectura* dirigida por el maestro

Mario Pani desde 1938 hasta 1972, los *Cuadernos de Arquitectura Virreinal*, de *Arquitectura Mesoamericana* y de *Conservación del Patrimonio Artístico*, además de *Artes de México, Arquitectura:* A, Enlace, y sin exagerar, decenas más de publicaciones periódicas, han reflejado de manera más que efectiva el acontecer cultural mexicano y regional en los aspectos de este estudio; Costa Rica edita la *Revista del Colegio de Arquitectos* y *Habitar*; Panamá la *Revista Ingeniería y Arquitectura*; el desarrollo vertiginoso de Puerto Rico en las décadas de los sesentas y setentas puede ser entendido por medio de la revista *Urbe*; El Colegio Dominicano de Ingenieros y Arquitectos mantuvo su CODIA por un buen número de años, siendo junto a *Archivos de Arquitectura Antillana*, *Arquivox* y *Arquitexto* los medios más destacados en ese país, desde Jamaica, *Jamaica Architect;* desde Trinidad, *Environ*; desde las Islas Vírgenes, *Searching*. La lista de las publicaciones periódicas establecidas comercial e intelectualemente no es demasiado larga, en realidad.

Esta investigación en las bibliotecas de Washington y New York, fué completada durante una estadía en Ciudad México. Los resultados de la misma esperan ser convertidos en una publicación de consulta obligada para aquellos estudios futuros dedicados a la arquitectura y la urbanística en el Gran Caribe.

Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez Ureña y Plan CARIMOS/OAS,
Santo Domingo
Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, summer 1995

NANCY NORWOOD

Visualization, Replication, Facsimile: The Monumental Entombment Group in Fifteenth-Century Northern Europe

Life-size representations of the scene of the Entombment of Christ form a significant genre of fifteenth-century northern sculpture. Hundreds of these so-called Entombment groups existed throughout northern Europe, and certain shared characteristics permit their definition as a distinct class of object. Each comprises the same cast of characters: an effigy of the dead Christ, surrounded by the mourning figures of the Virgin, John, Mary Magdalene, and the holy women, is lowered into the tomb by Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea. With few exceptions, each is of stone made to human proportions, and was originally polychromed. Each was commissioned in conjunction with the funerary foundation of the donor.

Although northern European Entombment groups played several simultaneous roles in late medieval religious life, prior research has focused primarily on questions of regionalism and style. Questions of function, intention, and the reception of such works have been little explored, as have the related issues of the origin and development of the genre during the fifteenth century. It has been proposed that one characteristic of late medieval art is its "strange tension between the realistic image and its supra-real sense," a notion particularly tantalizing when we consider the lifelike, three-dimensional nature of these representations of the Burial

of Christ. What, exactly, is the "supra-real sense" of these monuments? How did this tension manifest within the visual and religious culture of fifteenth-century northern Europe?

In the first part of my dissertation I analyze a wide range of contemporary visual and textual documents, an analysis essential for framing this new period genre. Associated images—images both seen and imagined—that depicted or referred to the Entombment of Christ were already part of the collective religious mentality. The institution of the Feast of Corpus Christi, the prevalence and use of books of hours among the laity, and the widespread dissemination of devotional literature by the mendicant orders all found their visual counterparts in illustrated texts, altarpieces, and *Andachtsbilder*. Late medieval recountings of pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulcher consistently combine a systematic description of the physical site of Christ's burial with a narrative elaboration of the sacred event. This combination, which we find in the devotional literature of the period as well, emphasizes the devotional reenactment of Christ's Passion, with the intent of closing the physical and temporal distance between the reader and the suffering Christ. The further analysis of documents related directly to the foundation and production of these sculptural groups, as well as of indulgences granted to them, indicate their role within late medieval religious practice by providing specific information as to intent and function. This compendium of visual and textual documents supports my thesis that the monumental Entombment group emerged in response to, and functioned in the realm of, the religious and visual culture of fifteenth-century northern Europe.

There follows discussion of the medium used to create these monuments. The relationship of sculpture and painting is at times an ambiguous one, particularly for historians of late Gothic and early Netherlandish art. The nature of polychromed sculpture poses an even greater ambiguity, in that the sculpture was created with the intention of its eventual polychrome. When we consider that the monuments were three-dimensional and life-size, the question of medium becomes an even greater issue for discerning their reception and function. I attempt to show through this discussion that the tension we find in late medieval art is essential to the func-



ft, Entombment
500,
erkapelle,
ıedhof, Nuremberg.
otograph

tion of the work of art, and, in the case of the monumental Entombment, is produced primarily from the ambiguity inherent to polychromed sculpture. It is, I think, the artist's manipulation of media, and the resultant manipulation of the viewer's sense of "real presence" at the death of Christ, that presents a viable solution to the demands of religious practice and experience in fifteenth-century northern Europe.

Two site-specific case studies address the issues of function, intention, and reception. In Nuremberg, for example, three monumental sculpted Entombment groups were made during the fifteenth century, each part of a larger funerary donation. This particular case study explores the regional development of the genre, the relationship of the donor to the act of foundation, and issues of piety that relate specifically to fifteenth-century

Nuremberg. The second case study focuses on the monumental Entombment group at Chaumont in eastern France. The sculpture, of exceptional quality and, more important, with its original polychrome, is in situ in its original chapel. The foundation charter describes in great detail the responsibilities of the donor, those of the clergy, and those of members of the parish. We achieve, through the analysis of the language of the document and that of the sculpture, a glimpse of the active role that this monument played in the life of one parish. An appendix provides brief descriptive and contextual analyses of a group of monuments central to the genre.

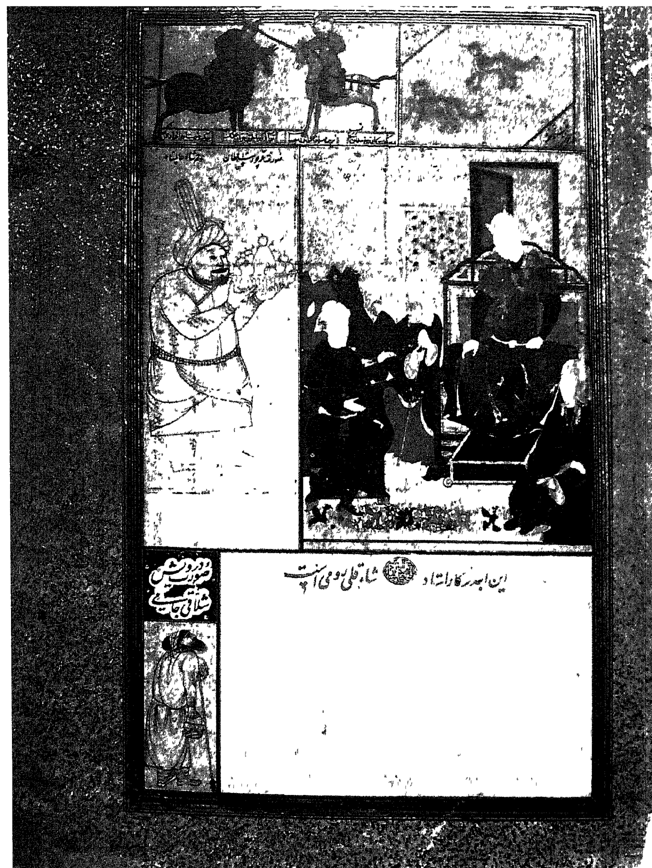
In conclusion, my dissertation examines the emergence, development, and functions of this important fifteenth-century sculptural genre, a genre that to date has been little discussed in the history of late medieval art.

[University of California, Berkeley]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1994–1996

DAVID J. ROXBURGH

"Our Works Point to Us": Album-Making, Collecting, and Art (1427–1565) under the Timurids and Safavids

In 951/1544–1545 the Safavid prince Bahrām Mīrzā ordered the royal librarian Dūst Muḥammad to compile an album (*muraqqaʿ*) for his library. One page, shown in the illustration, is a composite of figural subjects that results from processes of selecting, arranging, orienting, trimming, and ultimately fixing in place a patchwork of valued drawings and paintings. Individual items are framed by a grid of blue and gold lines, the ensemble enclosed by a composite ruling and gold-flecked, blue margin. Works signed by Shāh Ṭahmāsp (Bahrām Mīrzā's brother) and Shaykh Maḥmūd are combined with examples attributed to Bihzād and Shāh Qulī Rūmī. The neatly penned *nastaʿlīq* attributions and identifications of subject matter were made by Dūst Muḥammad, who also composed the album's preface in which he outlines a history of calligraphy and painting seen through its practitioners and patrons, past and present. In his own words Dūst Muḥammad stated that the making of the album involved the movement of examples collected by Bahrām Mīrzā from "dispersal" into "the realm of collectedness," or by a variety of transformations and recontextualizations whose cumulative result was a series of surfaces for display, a site for looking, discrimination, and aesthetic judgment. Recent scholarship on the Bahrām Mīrzā album presents it as marking a defining moment in the history of album-making. And yet, its conceptualization as a "collec-



Composite arrangement of drawings and paintings. From the Bahrām Mīrzā Album (Hazine 2154), fol. 2a. Note partially completed enthronement at center right with abraded study for a dragon at lower right, before 1544–1545. Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul

tion of threads" (*silk-i jamʿīyat*)—each thread composed of a chain of master-pupil relationships—and its active demonstration of these written and painted genealogies make it an exceptional case when viewed against the comparanda of contemporary Safavid albums. Stylistic and pedagogical relationships are given tangible embodiment across its total frame, effecting the presence of remembered masters through the physical traces of their work. It is the contention of my study that at least one of its principal concerns—the representation of an art history—and the practice of album-making itself occupy a position in a much longer tradition.

Because Timurid and Safavid albums result from an interactive

process and constitute sites of the theorizing of art, study of them offers a rare strategy for reconstructing contemporary beliefs about an art tradition, some of them formed at a time when no separate genre of art historiography existed. Important to my study is an assessment of the often coincidental practices of art collecting and art history writing. I examine both through the lens of the codex-format album, and focus on four examples (Topkapı Palace Museum, Istanbul: H.2310, H.2152, B.411, and H.2154), made in a Persianate cultural sphere between c. 1427 and 1545, each one constituted of diverse bodies of calligraphies, paintings, and drawings. Also critical to my study are additional sixteenth-century albums, two late-fifteenth-century album prefaces written by Marwārīd Khwāndamīr (for albums now lost), and a variety of textual sources including biographies, histories, and how-to manuals.

Despite a fairly extensive analysis of corpora of materials contained within the albums, little is known about their place and date of formation, method of assembly, and moments in their life history since their inception. To various degrees, the albums' successive owners subjected them to processes of repair and refurbishment; lacunae result from the excerption of materials. Thus, critical to any interpretation was my preliminary *archaeological* reconstruction of the albums' original shape and scope as collections. I completed the codicological analysis and catalogues after the conclusion of my research in Istanbul and before coming to the Center this year.

Album-making is generally understood by modern scholars to have had a "history." In this teleology, only the sixteenth-century "classic" albums are viewed as indicating complex cultural methods and a self-conscious engagement with the history of an art tradition, yet neither issue has been addressed systematically. By contrast, fifteenth-century Timurid albums have been relegated to the status of *omnium gatherums*. Understood to be random compilations of material, they were explained as only concerned with salvage. Such an interpretation results from their lack of art-historical prefaces (*dībācha*), their alternate methods of sequence and arrangement, and in two instances (H.2152 and B.411), the absence of a single, identifiable collector.

One album made in Herat between c. 1427–1433 for Bāysunghur b. Shāhrukh b. Tīmūr (H.2310) not only demonstrates that collecting was part of the Timurid elite's cultural method but challenges the idea of a linear evolution. Circumscribed by pedagogy (a master—Yāqūt al-Mustacṣimī [d. c. 1298]—and six of his pupils), a calligraphic canon (the six cursive scripts), and a textual genre (Qur'ānic excerpts and wisdom sayings), the formation of the album from single sheets of calligraphy followed the structural modality of contemporary Qur'āns, and was augmented by a historicist repertoire of fourteenth-century illuminated motifs intimately associated with the calligraphers represented in the album. As an aesthetic *moralia* the album not only corresponds to broader interests demonstrated by Bāysunghur and other Timurid patrons, but draws on a series of epistemic relations from other domains of knowledge.

The locus of collection for Timurid albums H.2152 and B.411 appears to have been the *kitābkhāna*, the court workshop; unlike H.2310 and later Safavid albums they did not result from the direct order of a collector. As compilations of a vast array of drawings, designs, and paintings—both old and new—and of calligraphic exercises, respectively, they were assigned the exclusive function of model books and denied any possibility of complex signification in their contemporary reception. Implicit in albums H.2152 and B.411, however, is a history of image-making and calligraphy for they combine works by past and present masters. By examining them in light of currents in intellectual thought and cultural production, however, we can see them as reiterations of a practice of anthologizing and collecting the literary past, resulting in a heightened consciousness of a visual past (calligraphy, painting, and drawing) connected to the present.

[University of Pennsylvania]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1994–1996

JÓZSEF SISA

Neo-Gothic in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and His School

For several years I have studied the neo-Gothic architecture of central Europe, with special respect to the activities of the Viennese Friedrich Schmidt and his pupils in what was once the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. During my fellowship I examined the cross-currents and international background of the Gothic revival movement.

Friedrich Schmidt had worked for fourteen years on the completion of Cologne cathedral and in later life remained in contact with August Reichensberger, the leader of the Cologne circle; his attachment to their ideas and methods was evident throughout his career. This can be construed first of all from his work, but also from the facts of his life and little-known references to his lectures.

Contacts between English, French, and German Gothic revivalists were especially strong in the 1840s and 1850s, and August Reichensberger's intense interest in Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin and his friendship with George Gilbert Scott has special relevance in this context. Pugin's insistence on stylistic purity and the authentic use of materials basically influenced Reichensperger's views. Scott, the most prolific and possibly the least intellectually challenging major architect of English high Victorian architecture, had obvious lure for the diligent and sober German theorist. His books, *Die christlich-germanische Baukunst und ihr Verhältnis zur*



Friedrich Schmidt, Parish Church, Vienna, Weinhaus, 1883–1889. Author photograph

Gegenwart (1845) and *Fingerzeige auf dem Gebiete der kirchlichen Kunst* (1854), bear witness to his indebtedness to his English contemporaries. At the same time Reichensperger's books proved seminal for the further development of neo-Gothic architecture, and particularly neo-Gothic church architecture in central Europe.

The 1856 competition for Lille cathedral, for which eminent

English, French, and central European Gothic revivalists submitted designs, brought unexpected results. The first two prizes went to two young English architects, George Edmund Street and William Burges, who, with their daring and innovative use of forms and materials, surpassed both their French and central European counterparts. Archaeological orthodoxy and Pugin-inspired "copyism" were regarded as passé. Yet precisely these qualities would determine the future course of neo-Gothic architecture in Germany and central Europe. The primary domain of neo-Gothic architecture would be church building—Schmidt alone designed over one hundred ecclesiastical structures, a figure comparable only with Scott's output—the basic pattern being almost invariably identical with what Reichensperger had laid down: a nave and two aisles, three polygonal apses, vaulted ceiling, one or two towers on the principal façade, and historically authentic Gothic details. The churches of Schmidt and his pupils and their far less numerous neo-Gothic civic structures hardly interested their colleagues in Western Europe and North America, where mainstream architecture had taken a different course. (This does not mean, however, that in some cases neo-Gothic in its unadulterated form did not persist far longer in the Western Hemisphere than would have been imaginable in central Europe; for example, the Washington National Cathedral, built in 1906–1990).

Attachment to a certain architectural style could be expressive not merely of preferences in taste but also of political attitudes. A case in point is Reichensperger, a conservative Catholic, and also the Catholic convert Schmidt, both avowed Gothicists, and the liberal radical Gottfried Semper, champion of the bourgeois-oriented neo-Renaissance style (and a bitter enemy of Reichensperger).

The conservative neo-Gothic approach in central Europe, despite the occasionally high level of draftsmanship and craftsmanship, did not permit a free evolution of Gothic forms into something comparable to the arts and crafts movement. In fact neo-Gothic had little impact on domestic architecture in central Europe; neo-Renaissance and cognate styles, including German neo-Renaissance ("Altdeutsch"), in which some of Schmidt's pupils excelled, carried the day. But "style" remained important in

this domain even at the turn of the century, as opposed to contemporary English developments, described so aptly by Hermann Muthesius at the time.

Similar conservatism characterized building restoration. In the second half of the nineteenth century, English critics termed restoration in France "destructive"; had they observed restoration in Austria and Hungary, they would have noted similar practices there even as late as the 1880s and 1890s, long after Ruskin's admonitions and after the foundation of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1877.

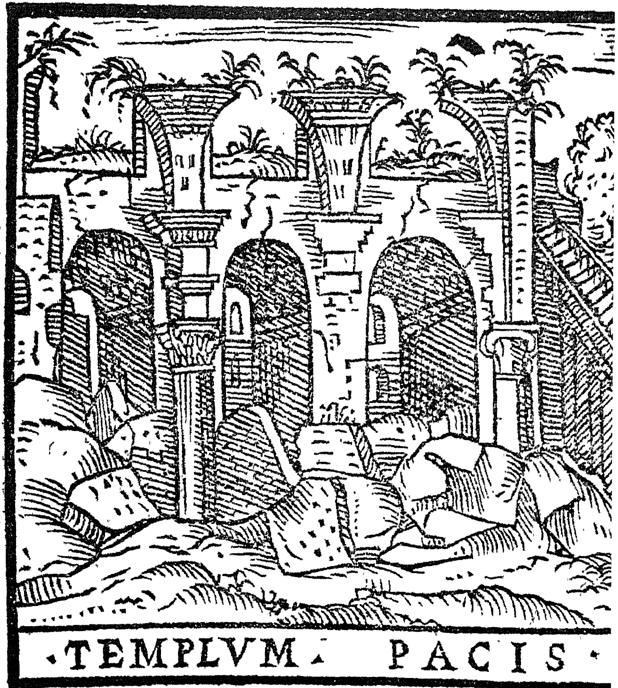
Art-Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1995
Soros Visiting Senior Research Travel Fellow, summer 1995

MARIE TANNER

Titus' Conquest of Jerusalem and the Renaissance in Rome

The Roman emperor Titus' destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 remained a core idea in Western thought for nearly two millennia. My book-length study examines how, repeatedly through the ages, a mythologized concept of Titus' role in history was a crucial element in the formation of contemporary politico-religious statecraft. An investigation of the architecture that reshaped Rome's monumental topography in the image of Flavian victory indicates that the monuments functioned in tandem with the art and literature of the court to glorify the Jewish war in the wider context of the conquest of the East. This remained a perennially valid construct in both secular and sacred bids for universal sovereignty.

A second element entered with the Christian world view of Titus, who was set apart from other Roman conquerors of Jerusalem through his destruction of Solomon's Temple, which was never rebuilt. Titus' deed spread to a new audience as the razing of the temple stimulated the writing of the first book of the Synoptic Gospels. Beginning in the fourth century, the razing of the temple was attributed to God's vengeance for the killing of Christ. As these legends proliferated in the Middle Ages, Titus was lifted to a new plane of veneration as the Avenger of Christ's death. These fabulous accounts in which even the saintly Veronica figures prominently, fed the growth of anti-Semitism in the West as they



Andrea Fulvio, *Templum Pacis*. From *Antichità di Roma* (Venice, 1588)

promoted bellicosity toward the "perfidious" Jews, and they marshaled forces for the papal-led Crusades to recapture Jerusalem from the infidel.

Titus' transfer of the Jewish holy vessels from Solomon's Temple to the Temple of Peace in Rome assumed importance in a separate body of medieval church-oriented literature. Considered by Orosius as he who "destroyed the temple which had endured for 1,100 years (and) seeded the Church of God throughout the earth," Titus was continually praised for relocating the seat of Judeo-Christian authority to Rome. The commonplace concepts of Rome as the New Jerusalem and the Roman pope as the successor to the sacerdotal dignity of the Old Testament priest-kings were sustained by this transfer, which was visually documented on the Arch of Titus. Papal supremacy in the international community was promoted by

the claim that the papacy possessed these sacred relics, imaginatively inflated to include with the Seven-branched Candelabrum, the Ark of the Covenant, the Tablets of the Law, Moses' Rod, and so on.

A consideration of Titus' importance for papal claims of legitimacy forms the counterpart to the culminating chapters of my study, which concern the influence of Flavian antiquity in the rebuilding of Rome in the Renaissance, with a focus on the new Saint Peter's. During my two-month fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study, I concentrated on the research for these chapters. The results of my studies suggest a programmatic intention in the design of ecclesiastical Rome.

As it aimed to create a new city symbolic of its prestige and global sovereignty, the Apostolic See exhibited a revived interest in the monuments of antiquity, following the return from Avignon in the fifteenth century. Although borrowings from Flavian monuments have long been appreciated by architectural historians, they have been evaluated primarily in formal terms. A new significance emerges from examining the monuments in the context of antiquarian literature. Here a new, enlightened approach to ancient ruins—measured ground plans and elevations whose description is couched in snippets from ancient sources—is often mired in the old ideology: the perception of Titus as the secular arm of God's justice.

During the pontificate of Julius II (1503–1513), Flavian influences matured into the most focused associations. A series of Julian monuments of painting, architecture, and sculpture reflects a grounding in Flavian imagery that begins with the Cortile del Belvedere and culminates with the century-long project of building and redecorating Saint Peter's.

Moving away from a generic reference to Titus that was based on the Colosseum-inspired rhetorical schema of imposed orders, the pope's architect, Bramante, derived the architectural vocabulary at Saint Peter's from what was then believed to be the Temple of Peace and the repository of the temple spoils—this monument was the architect's source according to a reputedly autograph and often repeated dictum.

My study's final consideration is the manner and extent through which Bramante's innovations transformed the symbolic charge of the most important pilgrimage church in Christendom. Ironically, it was science that later intervened to obscure the source—and with it the ideological foundations—which lends such force to Bramante's new architecture.

New York City
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996

EUGENE YUEJIN WANG

Pagoda and the Making of Chinese Medieval Visual Culture

At the ruinous site of what used to be a Buddhist monastery in east China stand two pagodas. The one called the Simenta dates from the early seventh century (A.D. 611), the other, called the Longhuta, belongs to the eighth or ninth century. Both are four-sided structures enshrining statues of Four Buddhas facing gateways opening to the four directions. The Simenta may have served the function of hosting the repentance ritual of "entering the pagoda to visualize Buddha images." The Longhuta, however, with its cell surmounted on a tiered *sumeru* base (in the shape of a constructed waist), bars physical entrance. In contrast with the austere design of its seventh-century counterpart, the Longhuta flaunts four spreads of elaborate relief sculpture on its outer faces. Questions arise regarding the visual interest and social functions implied by such a design.

The Longhuta suggests traits of a relic pagoda. The relic lore perpetuated in medieval China characterizes the sacred object as physically elusive, yet optically accessible. Paradoxically, for all their optical overtones, relics were often denied visibility as they were interred beneath a pagoda. The latter is then charged with the responsibilities of displaying optical miracles associated with relics. The formal design of the Longhuta cues for miracle-watching eyes, as manifested in its accentuated *sumeru* base and its elab-

orate relief sculpture. Matching the sculpture with medieval discursive patterns, I have found a common use of successive syntactic parallelism in the medieval description of relic-induced visions. The syntax characterizes both the verbal pattern and underlies the decorative schemes of pagoda designs. Further, focusing on the building material, stone, I place the relief sculpture in the medieval perceptual tradition of "stone shadows" and discuss how the optical efficacy associated with relics could have been played out in stone sculpture.

Much of miraculous thaumaturgy and optical efficacy in medieval China pivoted around the notion of "*bian*" (transformation, metamorphosis), a key Chinese medieval period term. The word underlies a whole range of conceptual categories, for example *bian-hua* (transformation) and *bian-xian* (manifestation), that resonate with rich cultural significance going back to the pre-Buddhist classical antiquity, evoking traditional Chinese concerns with life and death, the flux of the phenomenal world, and ontological forms of individual identities. Reenergized in medieval China, the word and its derivative phrases took on a strong optical character and became descriptive categories of visual experiences. The word *bian* is also the key component in the medieval phrase *bian-xiang* (transformation tableaux), which referred to the dominant genre of painting and relief sculpture, iconographically informed by Buddhist sutras, that adorned Buddhist temples and Buddhist ritual paraphernalia in the Tang period (618–906). All these aspects of *bian* are fully implicit in the pagoda under study. As the study of *bian-xiang* has taken on some momentum, so the present study contributes to the scholarship on *bian* by offering a case study of a pagoda with reliefs of transformation tableaux. I argue that the *bian* in pre- and early Tang times tended to translate into a multifaceted structure with the emphasis on the succession of alternative visions. From the high Tang onward, notions of *bian* increasingly became a matter of internal metamorphosis within one composition by thriving on the undulating tracery often fully brought out in scenes depicting demonic monstrosity, as shown in the north side of the pagoda. The alignment of the Subjugation of Demons with the Amitabha Paradise on two opposite sides of a



Dragon-and-Tiger Pagoda, Shandong, Tang Dynasty, eighth to ninth century.
Author photograph

pagoda is one of the central concerns of the present study. They demonstrate two senses of *bianhua*: the transformation (*bianhua*) from present life to afterlife, and teaching and converting (*hua*) the populace by demonstrating the magic powers of the "Bodhisattva-way" (*pu-sa-dao*; such as the subjugation of demons). Both the subjugation of demons and the rebirth in the Amitabha Paradise are equally "inconceivable" miracles. This conceptual scheme underlying the pagoda design is further evidenced in the cluster of monks' tomb-pagodas arranged around the Subjugation of Demons side. Monks identified themselves as practitioners of the "Bodhisattva-way," capable of performing the "inconceivable." Furthermore, the Subjugation-Amitabha alignment materializes the rhetorical pattern of an argument a monk would typically make in dispelling doubts concerning the "inconceivable" miracle. Here were popular beliefs about demons masquerading as Buddhas to deceive the unsuspecting. The Demon-Amitabha sequence therefore both registers the skeptical concern and presents an affirmation.

The final part of the dissertation explores how an architectural and sculptural complex internalized social stratification and shows that even in the utopian afterlife, social tension persists. A structure like the Longhuta was tantamount to a topographical microcosm and often lent itself to cosmic analogies. Medieval Chinese habitually envisioned a "spiritual journey" through a space configured through such a structure. The spatial dimension of the structure also interacted with the temporal dimension implied in the pagoda. The outer faces of the east, south, and west sides of the structure are decorated with the paradise scenes of Sakyamuni, Amitabha, and Maitreya respectively, while the north side features the Subjugation of Demons. The pagoda thus implied a cross-axial scheme: each axis symbolized a present-future orientation toward the Amitabha Pure Land and the Maitreya Pure Land. This means that the structure designated two axial "spiritual movements," two "ends of journey" in the afterlife space, and consequently staked two conflicting claims. The Amitabha Pure Land had a more populist appeal while the Maitreya Pure Land represented a more elitist interest. The Maitreya side borders the Thousand

Buddhas Cliff on which were rock-cut icons donated by a distinguished group of patrons including the Tang Princess Nanping and prefecture inspectors. A contemporary inscription on a similar pagoda elsewhere contains a detailed documentation about the patronage distribution of four sides. The scenario fits perfectly with what one observes on the design of the Longhuta. Some telltale local details reveal that the design scheme favored the Sakyamuni-Maitreya axis rather than the Subjugation-Amitabha axis, which means, in this case, prioritizing the upper-class interest. At odds with the *structural* preference for the Maitreya Paradise is, however, the stylistic discrimination manifested in the more profusely chiseled relief sculpture on the Amitabha side that could be taken to mean either the popularity of the Western Paradise (hence attraction of more patrons) or the craftsman's formal "sabotage" of the project by advancing the lower-class interest through stylistic means. The design showed social preference while undermining what it honored. The overall construction of the pagoda, however, masked the deconstruction with a seemingly unified coherence. A Chinese medieval pagoda was a symbolic and institutional structure that held a culture together, albeit a tension-ridden one.

[Harvard University]
Ittleson Fellow, 1994–1995

Description of Programs



Fields of Inquiry

The Center supports research in all the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences. The Center also supports critical studies leading to the formation of aesthetic theories.

Fellowship Program

Samuel H. Kress Professorship

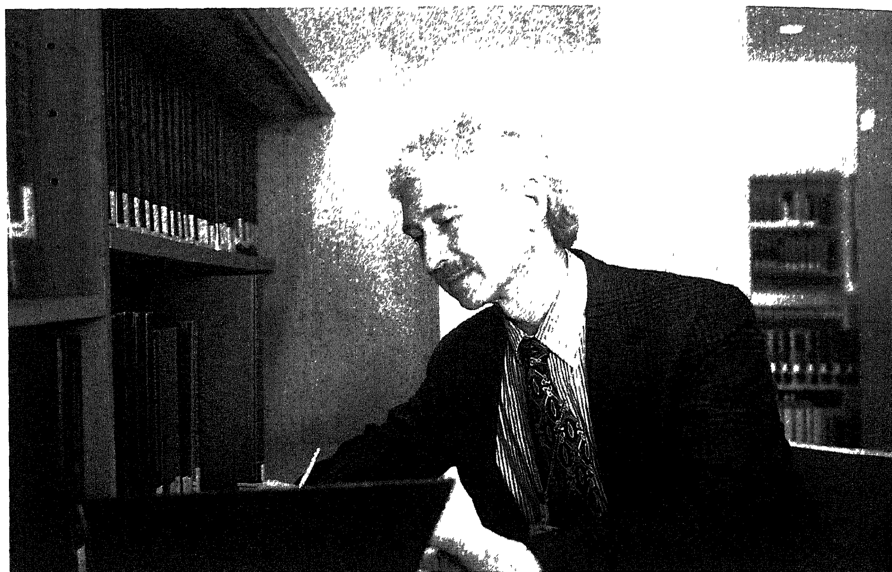
The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select annually a distinguished art historian as Samuel H. Kress Professor, a position created by the National Gallery in 1965. Occasionally two scholars are chosen to serve consecutive terms during the same academic year. Traditionally the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

Andrew W. Mellon Professorship

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select biennially a distinguished academic or museum professional as Andrew W. Mellon Professor, a position created in 1994. Scholars are chosen to serve two consecutive academic years and are free to pursue independent research.

Paul Mellon, Ailsa Mellon Bruce, and Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellowships

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Individuals currently affiliated with the National Gallery of Art are not eligible for the Senior Fellowship program. Awards usually are made for the academic year. The Center will consider dividing the fellowship period into single terms to be held in two consecutive calendar years. Awards for one academic term are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside in the Washington area during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring,



and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. The Center is able to consider requests for alternative periods of residence in response to individual needs. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center for Advanced Study.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will be limited generally to one-half the applicant's annual salary with the expectation that applicants will bring sabbatical stipends or research grants from their home institutions. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel funds; a supplemental allowance for local expenses; and a research allowance for photographs, slides, and microfilms. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for attendance at a professional meeting.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 1 October. Each candidate must submit ten sets of all materials, including an application form with a project proposal, two offprints, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

Frese Senior Research Fellowship

The Frese Senior Research Fellowship is intended for a German citizen who has held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possesses a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. The applicant may be preparing a *Habilitationsschrift* or pursuing a career in a museum or a historic monuments commission in Germany. A Frese Senior Fellowship will be awarded annually for an academic year, early fall to late spring, and may not be postponed or renewed. The fellowship is for full-time research. Ten sets of all materials, including an application form, a project proposal, copies of selected pertinent publications, and three letters of recommendation in support of the application, must be forwarded by the deadline of 1 October of the year prior to the fellowship.

Paul Mellon and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellowships

The Center awards the Visiting Senior Fellowships for a residence period of a maximum of sixty days during the year, in two periods: (A) September through February, and (B) March through August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Each Visiting Senior Fellow receives a stipend that includes travel, research, and housing expenses. Each Fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships should submit five sets of all materials, including an application form, a financial statement, and copies of one article or chapter of a book. Two letters of recommendation in support of the application are needed.

Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship

The Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship for a scholar from Latin America is intended for scholars from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. The fellowship includes a period of two months at the Center for research in

Washington libraries and collections, followed by an additional two months of travel to visit collections, libraries, and other institutions in the United States. The applicant must hold appropriate degrees in the field or possess a record of professional accomplishment. Knowledge of English is required. Applications will be considered on 21 September for appointment during the period March–August 1997. A complete application includes the following: an application form, a two- to four-page research proposal, a tentative schedule of travel in the United States, a curriculum vitae, and two letters of recommendation to be forwarded by the deadline. One Visiting Senior Research Fellowship will be awarded for 1997.

Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellowship for Scholars from Latin America

The general purpose of the Association of Research Institutes in Art History (ARIAH), incorporated in 1988, is to promote scholarship within institutes of advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines. A current collaborative effort within ARIAH institutions is a fellowship program intended for advanced study by scholars and museum professionals from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. Recipients of the ARIAH fellowship spend the first two months of the fellowship in residence at one of eighteen ARIAH institutions housing the collections and resources relevant to their research. For the next one to two months, recipients travel to additional institutions, collections, and research centers to pursue study. The application deadline is November for fellowships in the following year, within the period 1 June–31 May. A complete application includes the following: a curriculum vitae, a description of the research project (750–1,000 words); preferred dates of residence and tentative schedule of travel; and two letters of reference. Applicants are also asked to indicate which institution(s) houses the collections and resources most valuable for the proposed research project. Application will be made directly to ARIAH, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. Four fellowships are awarded annually. This program is supported with grants from the Getty Grant Program, the Lampadia Foundation, and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.



Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellowship

One fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has served at least three years in a department of the National Gallery, and who holds the Ph.D. or a record of professional achievement at the time of application. Curatorial Fellows may obtain leave from the Gallery for six to ten months in the succeeding academic year to pursue independent research unrelated to Gallery projects. The application deadline is 1 October. Candidates submit a proposal and an application form similar to that for a Senior Fellowship, but with only two publications required.

Associate Status

The Center may appoint Associates who have obtained awards from other granting institutions. These appointments are without stipend and can be made for periods ranging from one month to an academic year. Qualifications and conditions are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships and Senior Fellowships. The application deadline for Associate appointments for a full year or a single academic term is 1 October, and the procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Applications will also be

considered on 21 September, for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August, and on 21 March, for appointments of less than one academic term during the period September–February. For short-term applications, procedures are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships.

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship

One Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship is available each year to a fellow who has held the Samuel H. Kress or the Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellowship. Kress and Davis Fellows may apply for a Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship if the dissertation has been approved by 1 June of the second fellowship year. A letter to this effect from the primary advisor must be received by this date. The candidate must have graduated or received a certificate of degree by 1 September. During this twelve-month appointment, the fellow is associated with an appropriate Gallery department and pursues curatorial work while preparing the dissertation for publication.

Predoctoral Fellowships

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of art history who have completed their university residence requirements, course work, and general or preliminary examinations. Students must have certification in two foreign languages. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a twelve-month period of residency at the Center that may include participation in a curatorial research project at the National Gallery. Applicants must be either United States citizens or enrolled in a university in the United States.

Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships at the Center may be made only through graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, under the sponsorship of departmental chairs. The application deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable. All contact should be between the departmental chair and the Center for Advanced Study. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs during the summer prior to the autumn deadline.



Further Information about Tenure and Application

Members may not apply for other Center fellowships while an application is pending or once a fellowship has been awarded. The award itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments may reapply after three years. National Gallery Curatorial Fellows may reapply after five years. Appropriate application forms for fellowships and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565. Further information about these fellowships may be obtained from the Assistant to the Fellowship Program: (202) 842–6482. Fellowship information is also available on the World Wide Web (http://www.capcon.net/casva).

Facilities

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center for Advanced Study are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art, Washington. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over 200,000 volumes. The National Gallery's collections, photographic archives, and other services are accessible during regular business hours. Members of the Center also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Luncheon is available for fellows and staff in the National Gallery refectory on weekdays.

Board of Advisors and Selection Committee

A Board of Advisors, comprised of seven art historians appointed with rotating terms, meets annually to consider policies and programs of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center. In addition, a member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery is present during the interview of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art.

Program of Meetings, Research, and Publication

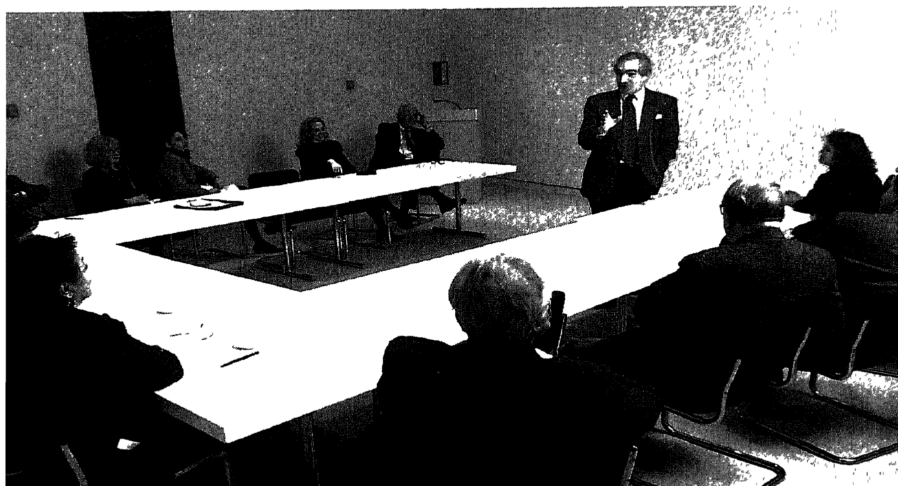
Meetings

The Center for Advanced Study sponsors programs of regular and special meetings throughout the academic year. Meetings held at regular intervals include colloquia presented by the senior members of the Center and shoptalks given by Predoctoral Fellows. Art historians and other scholars at universities, museums, and research institutes in the Washington area are invited to participate in these gatherings. Periodic meetings involving participants from the local, national, and international community of scholars include seminars, symposia, conferences, lectures, *incontri*, and the

curatorial colloquy. Such gatherings, along with the Center's weekly luncheon and tea, annual reception in honor of new members, and annual introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery of Art, encourage formal and casual exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse among scholars in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines. A list of the meetings held at the Center in 1995–1996 may be found on pages 18–27.

Research

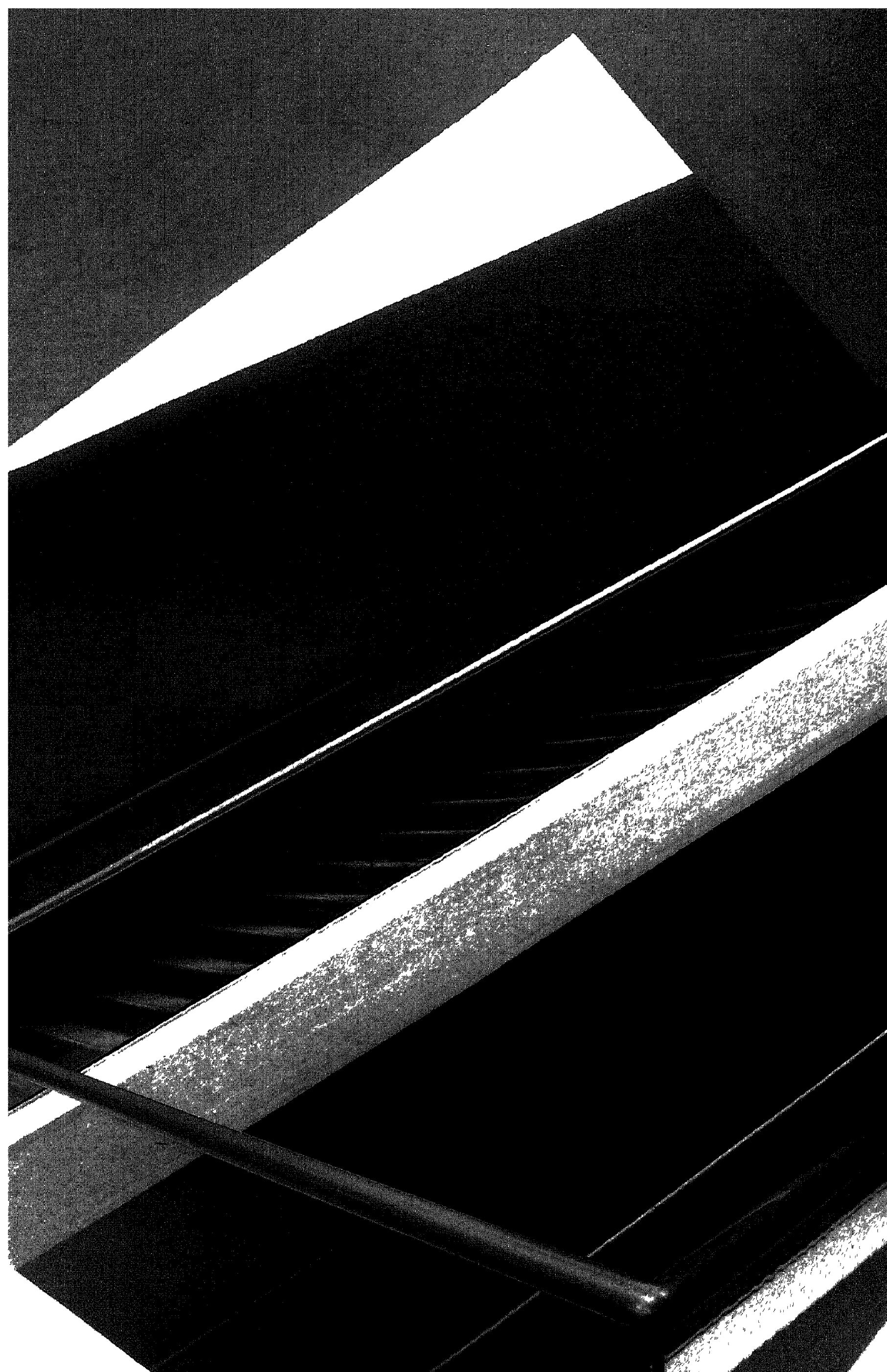
In 1982–1983 the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts initiated a program of long-term research projects. Each of the three deans directs a project designed to produce a research tool of value to the scholarly community. One project, completed in 1994, was the creation of *A Guide to the Description of Architectural Drawings*, edited by Vicki Porter and Robin Thornes. The work was the result of a collaboration between the Getty Art History Information Program, the Architectural Drawings Advisory Group, and the Foundation for Documents in Architecture. This work is intended to promote and establish standards for the description of architectural drawings. For current research projects, please see page 40.



Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually. Reports written by members in 1995–1996 appear on pages 43–148.

Publication

Papers presented at symposia sponsored by the Center are often gathered and published in the symposium series of the National Gallery's Studies in the History of Art. Twenty-seven symposium volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Volume 25); *Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Volume 29); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times* (Volume 31); *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32); *Michelangelo Drawings* (Volume 33); *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35); *The Pastoral Landscape* (Volume 36); *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37); *The Artist's Workshop* (Volume 38); *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (Volume 43); *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen* (Volume 44); *Titian 500* (Volume 45); *Van Dyck 350* (Volume 46); *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy* (Volume 48); and *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review* (Volume 50). Papers from six other symposia are in preparation for the series: "The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology," "The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome," "Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910," "Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals," "New Vermeer Studies," and "The Art of the Ancient Spectacle."



Index of Members' Research Reports 1995–1996